LANGUAGE POLITICS IN INDIA

THESIS SUBMITTED TO

MANGALORE UNIVERSITY FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

ALWIN SERRAO

Research Student

GUIDE

DR. SHANI K R

Department of Political Science

University College, Hampankatta

Mangalore, Karnataka, India.

November 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the Thesis entitled **"Language Politics in India"** submitted by me to the Mangalore University for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Political Science is a result of the research carried out by me under the guidance of Dr Shani K.R and acknowledgement has been made wherever the work cited the theoretical and empirical findings of others' investigations.

Place: Mangalagangothri

Date: Alwin Serrao

CERTIFICATE

I certify that the Thesis titled “Language Politics in India”, submitted to Mangalore University for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Political Science by Alwin Serrao is a record of research work carried out by him during the period from April 2016 to November 2022 under my guidance and supervision. This work has not formed the basis for awarding any Degree, Diploma, Associate Fellowship or other titles in this University or any other University or Institution of Higher Learning.

Place: Mangalore Signature of the Research Guide

Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I remain grateful to Mangalore University for accepting me as a Research Candidate and to Prof. P.S.Yadapadithaya, Vice Chancellor, for his encouragement and support throughout my research.

My sincere thanks to my Research Guide, Dr Shani K.R, for her invaluable guidance, gentle and patient dealings, continuous encouragement, and positive strokes that have enabled me to go on confidently with my work. I pray for Divine blessings on her and her family in return.

I am highly beholden to Prof P. L Dharma, Registrar Evaluation of Mangalore University, who constantly directed me throughout this study, even amidst his busy schedule.

Dr Prabhakar Neermarga, my dear friend, has been my pillar of support in my studies and in times of difficulties in my career and administration. I owe a great deal of my success to him.

I thank Rev. Dr Peter Paul Saldanha, the Bishop of Mangalore, for his blessings, prayers and encouragement.

The Prayers and blessings of my beloved parents and the sincere love and concern of my brother, sisters, Brothers-in-law, Sister-in-law and nephews and my dear ones for their prayers and encouragement kept me going fearlessly and confidently. Their genuine interest and concern were my strength.

It is a blessing to have many good friends like Fr Maxim Rosario, Fr. Jayaprakash Dsouza, Fr. Sylvester Vincent Lobo, and Fr. Simon D Souza, who have kept track of my work. I value their prayers and encouragement very much. I am grateful for

their friendship, encouragement and support. May God bless them and keep them healthy and happy always.

I cannot but thank my colleagues and friends at Padua College, Mangalore, and St Antony College, Naravi, for their sincere interest, kind words of concern and support.

I remain grateful to Mrs Vinitha Cutinha, Mrs Gretta Pereira, the Staff of Padua College, Mrs Precilla Alvares, and Mrs Philomena Moras of St Antony College, Naravi, who helped me to type out the script.

I am grateful to Prof. Jayaraj Amin, Chairman of the Department of Political Science Mangalore University, the Teaching Staff of the Department of Political Science and members of the non-teaching staff for their Cooperation.

My sincere thanks to Mr Christopher D Souza and Zeena Braggs, along with Team Astitva, for sharing the burden of responsibility in dramatics. Their questions and enthusiasm made me stick to the theatre even during my research and writing of eight plays.

Today my Soul Rejoices!

Place: Mangalore Signature of the Candidate

Date:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SL.No.	Title	Page No.
	Declaration	**II**
	Certificate	**III**
	Acknowledgement	**IV**
	Table of Contents	**VI**

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction; 2. Background of the Study; 3. Justification; 4. Theoretical Framework 5. Review of Literature; 6. Conceptual Framework; 7. Statement of the Problem; 8. Hypothesis; 9. Objectives; 10. Research Methodology; 11. Chapters Scheme; 12. Conclusion; End Notes

Chapter 2. LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

1. Introduction; 2. National Integration; 3. Types of National Integration; 4. Threats to National Integration in India; 4.1. Identity Threat; 4.2. Parochialism; 4.3. Regional Chauvinism; 4.4. Linguism; 5. Approaches to Understand National Integration in India; 6. Objectives of National Integration; 7. Role of Languages in National Integration; 8. Findings of the Chapter; 9. Conclusion; End Notes

Chapter 3. FORMATION OF LINGUISTIC STATES

1. Introduction; 2. History of the Linguistic Reorganisation of States – I; 3. History of the Linguistic Reorganisation of States – II; 4. Linguistic Provinces Commission; 5. JVP Committee; 6. Reorganisation: Counterarguments. 7. The Report and its Principles; 8. Demand for Separate Andhra State by Patti Sriramulu; 9. States Reorganization Commission (SRC) 10. Reorganisation: Arguments Favouring the Move; 11. Linguistic States: Reviewed Opinions; 12. The Commission and the Balanced Approach; 13. The States Reorganised as per the 1956 Act;

14. Reorganisation of the States After 1956; 14.1. Formation of the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat; 14.2. Formation of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh;

14.3. Rearrangement of North Eastern States; 14.3.1. Arunachal Pradesh; 14.3.2. Assam and Meghalaya; 14.3.3. Nagaland; 14.3.4. Mizoram; 15. Findings of the Chapter

16. Conclusion; End Notes

Chapter 4. STATUS OF LANGUAGES OF INDIA

1. Introduction; 2. The World view of Languages; 3. Classification of Scripts;

4. Classification of Languages of India; 4.1. Languages of India Based on Language Families; 4.2. Languages of India Based on Agent of Language Survey; 5. Language Arrangements as Indicated by UNESCO; 6. Findings of the Chapter; 7. Conclusion End Notes

Chapter 5. LANGUAGES IN INDIA TODAY

1. Introduction; 2. Mother Tongue Debate in India; 3. Mother Tongue and Identity;

4. Multilingualism and Mother Tongue Identity; 5. Language Policy and Planning;

6. Language Movements Today; 7. Findings of the Chapter; 8. Conclusion; End Notes

Chapter 6. CONCLUSION

1. Introduction; 2. Summary of Chapter One; 3. Findings of Chapter Two;

4. Findings of Chapter Three; 5. Findings of the Chapter Four; 6. Findings of the Chapter Five; 7. Major Findings of The Research; 8. Suggestions; 9. Conclusion;

10. Bibliography

1. INTRODUCTION

The faculty of language is considered the defining characteristic of human beings. "The two most widely known interpretations of '*Homosapien'* are '*homo loquen'* and '*homo technikons.*' Man or woman's characterisation of *'homoloquens'* suggests that orality goes back to the origin of language as well as to the origin of humanity."[1] "Simply by making noises with our mouth, we can reliably cause precise new combinations of ideas to arise in each other's minds. The ability comes so naturally that we are apt to forget what a miracle it is."[2] Humans alone with structured vocal cords can communicate through languages. Initially, though all the languages were oral, they have become written with time, and with the advancement of technology, printing has come into existence.

However, "Language is a human system of communication which uses structured vocal sounds that can be embodied in other media such as writing, print, and physical signs,"[3] says Tom McArthur. According to Sapir, "Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires using voluntarily produced symbols."[4] Sapir thinks that only humans can use language, whereas animals communicate through instinctive sounds and gestures. Though language also includes symbols, these symbols are voluntarily produced rather than natural.

In his *Essay*, Hall defines language as "the institution by which humans communicate and engage with one another through the use of routinely employed oral-auditory arbitrary symbols"[5]. Here, Hall understands language as an institution that lasts long and is a form of communication restricted only to humans. The terms oral-auditory refer to the hearer and the speaker in the definition. In addition, the words frequently allude to the language acquisition process through interaction with others.

Though most non-human species can exchange information, their communication system cannot be compared with human language. Nonhumans communicate through behaviours such as yelling, waving, etc., but they lack the ability to speak in words or a language. By moving in particular patterns, bees may communicate to their fellow workers the location of honey, but not much more. Birds sing various songs with the primary purpose of defending their domain or attracting a partner. However, man is the only animal gifted with language for communication.

"A common language connects the members of a community into an information-sharing network with formidable collective powers."[6] These influences are echoed in the Book of Genesis in the account of the Tower of Babel, which brought humans so close to heaven that even God felt threatened.[7] Social Sciences have been inquisitively studying the connection between language and power. Due to the multifaceted links connecting language and power, this subject is analysed from social sciences and linguistic perspectives. Studying the complicated relationship between language and power has resulted in multi-disciplinary sciences like Sociolinguistics, Psycho-linguistics, Historical linguistics, and Linguistic Anthropology. In this connection, it is necessary to establish the relationship between language and power in a country like India, which is multi-cultural, multiethnic, multi-religious, multilingual, multidialectal and multi-scriptal. Consequently, the relationship between language and power results in social processes like Competition and Conflict, paving the way for political dominance and social, economic, and cultural inequalities, named Language Politics, as politics is always connected with power.

2. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Consciously or unconsciously, our personality is formed by the languages we use. It is proved through civilizations that every language is unique, and the uniqueness of the language determines and reflects on the personality. Through language, we open the window of our mind to the family, community, society, nation and culture, values and morality of our world. Language and community have a symbiotic relationship because they cannot exist without each other. Both cannot exist as islands. In other words, a person projects his personality and culture's worldview through language. Moreover, a language's syntax and logical norms impact a person's worldview and identity.

In the nineteenth century, the awareness of linguistic nation-states in Europe, which gave rise to the gradual consciousness about the language, was also responsible for India's language identity formation. The idea that every European nation possessed a unique identity based on language brought about a deep realization of linguistic power. Moreover, language identity that led to linguistic communities' formation gave rise to Language Politics, which is complicated, intertwined, powerful, and equally problematic.

From the second half of the 19th century to the seven decades of the 20th century, language played a prominent ideological and identity role in India, along with religion. The ideological and identity dominance of language could be seen in the formation of language associations, the rise in linguistic print journalism and literature, party administration, national and state administration, deciding the official languages of the union and the states, the exclusion and inclusion of the languages in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution, in defining mother tongue, in language policies, in educational policies, in declaring the Classical languages, while deciding the medium of education, in the linguistic organization of the states, and its power in the integration in keeping the federal structure and testing the capacity of the Constitution of the country.

The ideological and identity role of the language was a major source in political decisions, policy making, programme drafting, and administrative decisions, which had far-reaching ramifications on the country, its politics and its citizens personally, nationally and globally and continue to influence even today, sometimes vigorously and other times mildly. For example, the Southern states criticised the National Education Policy 2020's emphasis on Three-Language-Formula because it acted as a back door for Hindi, imposed an additional burden on students at a young age, and exacerbated the shortage of non-Hindi teachers,[8] or the Circulars of the Home Ministry in 2014 to use Hindi in the Official Work and Official Social Accounts[9] or splattering of black paint on Hindi signboards while chanting slogans against the Hindi language in Metro Trains in Bangalore[10] are glimpses of Language Politics.

It becomes clear from the above instances that language and politics are intimately connected in India as language is used to attain and retain power. Language Politics refers "to those multiple domains where language and politics interact and result in tangible historical and political outcome of a certain kind."[11] "Language Politics should not be restricted to the domain of language planning, policy, and programmes alone, but should also consider the ideological potency of language(s) and its many forms of dominance and subordination."[12] Further, Language Politics entails analysing various issues like linguistic rights, language and identity formation, language and administration, language and education, and language and law. Language Politics "attracts attention to the alternative, non-conventional, and occasionally radical social and political histories that lie beneath the discourses of community, culture, region,

nation, and state."[13] Thus, two aspects must be considered while studying the relationship between language and politics: 1. Language as a pattern of meanings, which is the ideological power of the language and 2. Language as a means of communication - that is the expressive power of the language. These two have been treated as fundamentals in the subsequent arguments:

Language conflicts, not alien to our country, are examined from various perspectives. The amount of research that has been done on Language Politics so far deals with the following:

2.1. Choices of a Language in Administration: Hindi or Urdu? Hindi or English? For instance, as Austin Granville believes, Hindi, an indigenous language, was most suitable for a national role; however, it was impossible in practice. "English was the only language used on a national scale. Consequently, many Indian languages, along with English, were compatible with national unity and the development of national spirit."[14]

2.2. Medium of Instruction: In India, students face the dichotomies like choosing between a Mother Tongue and a Regional Language as the medium of instruction or their mother tongue or official language. To note the words of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak: "Early education of the child to be imparted in mother tongue is a principle recognised by educationists worldwide. The Indian Constitution recognises it. However, it is observed more in the breach."[15]

2.3. Language as a Political Identity: In the case of linguistic reorganisation of States, for instance, Sumathi Ramaswamy argues language as the power of national identity in her book *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India 1891-1970.* A. P. Ashwin Kumar thinks that many other scholars make similar cases for other languages like Sudipta Kaviraj for Bengali, Sheldon Pollock with references to Kannada, Lisa Mitchelle in the case of Telugu, and Veronique Benei in the case of Marathi. Nevertheless, Ashwin Kumar raises a valid question: "Many thinkers have commented on the general history of linguistic identity and linguistic nationalism in India without necessarily raising the question of whether linguistic identity is an analytically valid description of the Indian social realities."[16]

2.4. Relation Between Language and Religion: Several studies on the correlation between Muslims and Urdu have established relationships between religion and language. "The Urdu

language over the years assumed a significant space in the structure of Muslim identity in India."[17] Argues Yogendra Singh.

2.5. Language and Identity: Mithilesh Kumar Jha, for instance, argues how the Maithili dialect was a force of identity formulation in the Hindi heartland. According to him, the Maithili linguistic communities adopted Maithili as their mother tongue and independent language challenging the expansion of Hindi to assert their identity.[18]

2.6. Language and Caste: Mithilesh Kumar Jha further argues how there was an attitude to dub the whole Maithili Movement by reducing it to its caste character - that is Maithili movement was dominated by Brahmins, and Karna Kayastha thought that it was only one aspect of the movement.[19]

2.7. Language and Reorganisation of the Indian States: State Reorganisation Committee Report delineates in detail the pros and cons arguments for the linguistic formation of the states and also explains why it is not urgent.[20]

2.8. Language and Policy: Independent India confronted numerous linguistic problems in its nascent years, and the first prime minister had to take some difficult decisions. Though these decisions are criticised today, they were conflict resolution attempts through consensus and compromise. Robert King, who has analysed the decisions taken by Nehru in resolving the linguistic conflicts, in his book '*Nehru and Language Politics in India'* opines followingly: "…if the first prime minister of India had been a linguistic naive rather than a linguistic sophisticate like Nehru, then we should have today, not a unified India with a strong government at the centre but an India weakly divided along linguistic and cultural lines into two or three semi-autonomous regions. The unity of India would have been a faded dream."[21]

3. JUSTIFICATION

India being a multilingual country, is a cauldron of language conflicts. It is also true that there is a plethora of literature on language and its implications for several aspects of human life. However, as Debi Prasanna Pattanayak says, "The language problem in India is usually measured against a bipolar scale by most analysts from home and abroad. Some view it as a competition between Hindi and Urdu, rival Hindu-Muslim communalism symbols; others view it

as Hindi versus English, rival symbols of national chauvinism and international egalitarianism. While some think of it as a regional language and Hindi - rival symbols of local chauvinism and nascent nationalism, others view it as north versus south – rival symbols of Aryan domination and Dravidian resistance. Others even view it as competing symbols of economically backward interior regions and developed coastal Regions."[22] Language studies in India are indeed investigated on a bipolar scale; However, the present study explores how language and the different aspects of language, like script, region and dialect, are used as symbols of identity to attain and retain power.

Paul Brass states, "In South Asia, language and religion have been among the most prominent symbols of group identity."[23] It can play a role in integration and disintegration. Before and after independence, India experienced several language efforts used for political mileage in independent movements, linguistic reorganisation of states, linguistic movements, and the independent status of languages. For example, when there was a Hindi-Urdu controversy Gandhiji used Hindustani; Nehru accommodated Hindi and English as Official Languages when there was a conflict over the choice of a National Language. All these language conflicts had threatened the unity of a young independent country, yet India has remained integrated. Therefore, the researcher wants to discover how India has remained integrated despite many language conflicts. In other words, how language has contributed to the integration of India. However, studies on Language Politics continue to revolve around Hindi vs Urdu or Hindi vs Hindustani or Hindi vs English or National Language vs Official Language. There are very few studies on the role of language in national integration. In this study, an attempt is made to comprehend the role of language in India's integration. This attempt is to discover the national fabric called "Indian" amidst the linguistic diversity and demands for linguistic identity, linguistic reorganisation, and linguistic recognition while remaining united.

Since Language Politics is studied in India from a bipolar angle, the initiator of Language Politics is not paid much attention. Therefore, in the present work, the researcher explores the initiator of politics during the Hindi-Urdu debate in the Constituent Assembly regarding National vs Official Languages, Linguistic Reorganisation of States, Linguistic Movements, Language Policies, and Educational Policies. Moreover, Identity Politics dominated the latter portion of India's nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, the initiators of

this identity formation and the ramifications of this identity formation on the politics and geography of the country are the crux of the study.

This study's focus is to explore whether it was singularity or a combination of identities that were catalysts while deciding the Official Languages of the Union or the States, Linguistic Reorganisation of the States, or the Linguistic Movements. In addition, the investigation is whether identities like religion, caste, and ethnicity were combined and camouflaged with language identity.

The post-independent India has seen polarisation based on election slogans like "*Angrezi Hatao"*, "Hindi, Hindu and Hindustan," and "Dravidian movement,". These are linguistic identity mobilisations on significant languages, having more major political ramifications on the larger part of the country. Nevertheless, linguistic politics was not limited to significant languages alone, but even minor languages and various aspects of languages like dialects, scripts and creoles. For example, strictly speaking, a language does not require a script. Many Indian and foreign languages have no script. Some languages are written in more than one script. This study will investigate the connection between language and script, the requirement of a script for a language, and the politics behind a specific script. Therefore, the researcher wants to concentrate on how minor languages and their aspects were also a political tool in influencing local politics, such as Language Politics in North East India, Language-dialect conflict in Goa, and conflict between Hindi and its dialects in the Hindi heartland.

Language Politics germinated and took shape during the Freedom Movement, became vociferously visible in the Constituent Assembly, spread its wings during the first three decades in the history of independent India, and refuses to die down even today. The present study will focus on how the Language Policies of India - Official Languages, Scheduled Languages, Three-Language-Policy, and Language in Education – are both a response and part and parcel of identity Language Politics. The present research will enlighten on the factors that led to the Three Language Policy in education. Moreover, it will enlighten how the tentacles of Language Politics can be seen in various administrative and educational policies.

Post-independent India had to look into urgent problems like economic poverty, border disputes, national security and the migration of refugees. Nehru had not considered organizing the states

on linguistic lines an urgent issue to be solved. However, the political compulsions forced him to dive into the linguistic reorganisation of the States. Hence India was reorganised on a linguistic basis. In 1987, Goa was the last state to undergo linguistic reorganisation. The four new states formed after 1987, Uttarakhand in 2000, Chhattisgarh in 2000, Jharkhand in 2000 and Telengana in 2014, were not on a linguistic foundation. Moreover, Telangana was part of the first linguistically formed state, Andhra Pradesh, in 1953. The researcher wants to explore whether Language Politics has lost its lustre in the reorganisation of the states on linguistic identity foundation these days and why language is not an issue while carving new states or bifurcating the states today in India.

Contrary to the above view, even after the linguistic formation of States and borders being finalised for decades, protests on border disputes are not uncommon. For example, during election periods, the intensification of border disputes on the Karnataka-Maharashtra and Karnataka-Kerala borders indicates that the language underpinnings are still a major political source in state configuration. The present study will highlight some of such issues and their political significance.

Moreover, India's idea of a Mother Tongue is not well defined. Various Central government agencies differently defined the concept over the period. The researcher wants to explore how this very definition of the mother tongue makes a language identity vulnerable and extinct. Moreover, how mother tongue and castes are related and caste is confused for the mother tongue. In addition, the study will explore how mother tongue, caste, and even locality are intertwined in forming an identity. The study will also explore the relationship between language and caste in attaining and retaining power and creating an identity that will throw light on the caste-cum-language based politics in India.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Like a ‘blueprint’ for a building, so is the theoretical framework for research. The theoretical framework consists of the chosen theory or theories that underpin a researcher's thinking on how one comprehends and intends to investigate one’s issue, as well as the relevant ideas and terminology from the theory.[24] Various approaches and methods can be used to study the issues of “Language Politics”. Various Traditional approaches that can be used to analyse Language

Politics could be philosophical, legal and historical. For example, suppose the language movements could be studied through a historical approach, various Constituent Assembly Debates, Parliamentary and Legislative Assembly debates regarding language and the resultant legislations, and various judgements on the language resolutions by Apex Courts could be studied from a Legal perspective. The ideological power of the language -sacred language, an archetypal power of language- can be approached through the philosophical approach. Modern Approaches - Anthropological, Sociological, Psychological, Functional and Marxist approaches used to study language have resulted in new branches of sciences like Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Linguistics of Anthropology and Psycholinguistics.

In the present research, the researcher has approached the "Language Politics in India" through a Theoretical Framework of 'Self, Identity and Identity Formation' and 'Multiculturalism' Though there are many varying Philosophical, Psychological and Socio-Psychological theories regarding the idea of Self, Identity and Identity Formation, the researcher has utilised the Comprehensive Theoretical Framework developed by Huseyin Cinoglu and Yousuf Arikan in the study titled "Self, identity and identity formation: From the perspectives of three major theories"[25]

4.1. IDENTITY AND IDENTITY FORMATION THEORY:

"Identity is a specific marker of how we define ourselves at any particular moment in life."[26] "Sociological understanding of self and identity starts with the presupposition of the existence of a reciprocal relationship between the self and the society"[27] It manifests not merely the power of the Self over society but also the power of society over the individual in the process of identity formation which is because the Self uses social entities that it already has participated in its creation, while on the other hand, society uses the culture to help or force the Self in identity formation.

Self, the fundamental concept in the process of identity formation, is "reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorise, classify, or name itself in particular ways about other social categories or classifications."[28] It is this categorisation that leads to the creation of identity. However, the Self is the conscious essence that has meaningful and effective relationships with other social entities. Moreover, the Self is a dynamic entity with the ability to interpret and reinterpret its environments and eventually transform itself into something that could be

identified in the next level, which is called, identity. If Margaret Meads sees 'Self' as the product of the mind with a capacity to evaluate and interpret social surroundings and use the results to change itself, Cooley speaks in detail about the process[29]. However, the Self, solely as the creation of the mind, cannot be accepted as it requires interpretation and interaction between society and the individual.

Stryker argues that the Self is the reflection of the society it belongs. Since we have different types of selves in society, there should be something that supersedes the Self, which scholars call identity. Identity is the social position possessed by the Self and internalised by it. Self and Identity are separate entities, but the Self always precedes and produces identity. According to him, identities are used by individuals during interactions. Stet and Burke also argue that selves can take on different identities since identity is a set of concrete entities that can change according to the environment, context and expectations from the society or group or other identities just like itself. Therefore, one can have multiple identities like religion, gender, ethnicity and linguistics.[30]

What is presumed from an individual's *multiple identities* is that the identities become meaningful after interacting with other identities. Burke calls these other identities '*counter identities'*, which does not mean conflicting identity but the counterpart of the identity. Counter identities allow the identities to observe, evaluate, and reform to the mutual advantage of society and itself.[31]

According to Stets and Burke, S*tructure* and *Agency* are two inseparable aspects of identity. Structure refers to the external factors that influence identity, like the impact of institutions and groups in society, which means states, governments, education, policy, legislation, language, and conventions can influence identity. However, on the other hand, the Agency is nothing but the agents who feel their freedom of choice within the structure.[32] Based on these two aspects of Identity – Structure and Agency- there are various perspectives in the identity Formation Theories:

4.2. PERSPECTIVES OF IDENTITY FORMATION THEORIES:

4.2.1. Collectivist: Serpe and Stryker assert that identity results from a collectivist process like culture. However, this view fails to consider the impact of Agency on Identity Formation.

4.2.2. Interactionist Perspective: Some Social Psychologists like Tsushima and Burke take the interactionist perspective and assign more power to Agency over identity formation structure, asserting that Identity Formation results from interactions.

4.2.3. Symbolic interactionists' perspective emphasises the role of both Structure and Agency in identity formation.

4.3. IDENTITY FORMATION:

According to Stets and Burke, identity formation can be explained based on membership in the group, the role an individual occupies, and the basis of personal perspective. Based on this perspective, there are three theories: i. Identity Theory, ii. Social Identity Theory, and iii. Personal Identity theory.

4.3.1. Identity Theory: Stets and Burke say identity formation begins with *self-categorisation* when people realise and accept their responsibilities. After adopting these identities, they interact with other identities and systems. With engagement, identities start recognising other identities as occupants of similar social positions, and a constructive relationship emerges. Constructive does not mean positive but the beginning of a self-merging process. With its new identity, the Self starts becoming the person his or her group wants it to be. Thus, the group defines the new self-identity.[33]

The theory created by McCall and Simons argues that *identity formation* begins when the Self realises the role allocated to it by the Agent and the Structure. This variant of identity theory emphasises different self-identity roles. Here to understand the Identity Formation process, one must differentiate the hierarchical features of identity roles, called the *hierarchy of prominence.* The hierarchy of prominence depends on the following factors:

1. The amount of support received by the Self from others in shaping one's identity
2. Self's adherence to Identity given by the Structure
3. The amount of extrinsic and intrinsic rewards received by the Self for adhering to the standards given by the structure and other identities in their identity creation process

Higher levels suggest more group acceptance of the new member and more group participation. The hierarchy of prominence states that if an organisation offers a member higher roles and support, this will improve the member's dedication to the group's cause. When the roles are not performed efficiently, there are sanctions which may not be punishments but approval and disapprovals for either upholding or violating the norms.[34]

A distinction can be made between Stryker's *salience hierarch*y from McCall and Simons' *prominence hierarchy*. The *salience hierarch*y focuses on how individuals play their roles in a particular situation, while the *prominence of hierarchy* concentrates on the process of identity formation and its effect. According to Stryker and Serpe, values influence behaviour and identity formation.[35]

Most identity theorists agree about *multiple identities* and one *master identity* that forms or influences other identities that a person inhabits. Social scientists Thoits, 1986 and Linville, agree that having many identities is advantageous for the individual since it offers alternate solutions to daily difficulties, gives meaning to events surrounding the Self, and guides behaviour choices. Mental stability and wellness depend on the Self's Identity. If these identities collide with the mainstream, they will have the opposite effect on the Self. It will produce friction in the Self's relationships with mainstream culture, yet it may give a healthy in-group relationship.[36]

Burke also argues that having numerous identities affects people in different structural positions. He also argues that individuals verify their existence through their identity. Even those who differ from society fulfil their identity roles because they cannot live in isolation. However, identities are created in interaction with others - other identities, society and groups- become the tools or standards for controlling the individual in society. These standards become the yardsticks to measure an individual's compatibility with his identity in a given situation.[37]

Is identity change possible if there are predetermined identity standards? Tsushima and Burke assert that identity change is possible because they say there are two types of identity standards: *principle-level identity standards* and *program-level identity standards.* Principle-level identity standards are higher, which include abstract goals, values, beliefs and ideas. However, Program-level identity standards have more realistic ambitions.[38] Another scholar who studied Identity

change, Kiecolt, believes that *identity change* is possible after a *stressor***,** like the death of a significant person, when there is a cost-benefit analysis of possessing a particular identity.[39] Kiecolt notes the instances of identity change: 1. By possessing a new identity and abandoning the old identity. 2. When there is a perceived relevance of a person's identity, and 3. a change in the perceived importance level and ranking in the identity.

4.3.2. Social Identity Theory: According to this theory, the Self, Identity, and identity formation are viewed from the group membership perspective. According to this theory, group membership and the self's activation by the group – that is, acceptance and approval - explains identity creation. Category or group membership informs the Self that he or she is part of a group and should act accordingly. Social identity theory says this will encourage/force learning the group's structure and dynamics to fit in better.[40] This brings on the concepts of *"in-group"* and *"out-group."* According to Abrams and Hogg, self-categorisation and self-comparison establish a sense of "other" that boosts group identity formation. This "other" or "out-group" perception helps the group maintain its existence by creating tension to give its supporters a sense of uniqueness.[41]

Simon, Pantaleo, and Mummendey focus on the significance of *group homogeneity.* According to Social Identity theory, groups require members with similar perspectives on life and current events to continue their existence. Moreover, they suggest that group homogeneity tends to be greater when individuals do not feel the need to differentiate themselves from other in-group members.[42]

Hogg and Hardie discuss the effects of homogeneity and argue that those who identify with the group connect and believe that their ties and beliefs are of secondary importance.[43] This is unaffected by the standing of the group in society. Even in a very low-level group, once membership is activated and internalised by the member, they tend to disregard the criticisms from the rest of society and opt to fulfil the needs of their allegiant group.

Social identity theory says group membership leads to perception and behaviour consistency. Individuals, individual uniqueness, personal power, and member connections are mostly neglected and downplayed. Stets and Burke say group identities are always desired, even if it means losing individual identities.

Social identity theory does not completely ignore individual actors' group membership. This idea sees individuals as group actors who want to join more groups as a *"salient social identity*." According to Oakes, a salient identity psychologically increases the influence of group membership on perception and action. People attempt to grow their memberships by behaviour and action to remain members. Unlike role identity theorists, group individuals operate according to group norms to improve membership, not status.[44] This assertion has become a contention between role Identity Theorists and personal identity theorists.

Social Identity theory requires members to be depersonalised. *Depersonalisation* involves sacrificing one's personality for the group. Individuals regard their achievements as group rewards, not as their own. At that moment, collective membership trumps individual duties.

Identity and identity formation are based on the group, the role, and the person. Individual as a person is undervalued in sociology and social psychology. Sociologists and Social Psychologists left this topic to other sciences like Psychology. These two sciences do not overlook individuals. However, they do not delve deep into the aspect of the person.

Tajfel's Social identity theory is based on group membership/s. According to him, groups were a source of pride and self-esteem, providing a sense of social identity and belonging. So we socially categorised "them" and "us"; we put people into social groups. Henri Tajfel claimed that stereotyping is based on a normal cognitive process: grouping things by which differences between different groups and similarities in the same group were highlighted, called In-group (us) and out-group (them). According to social identity theory, in-group members will seek out unfavourable features of an out-group to boost their self-image, which helps to explain interreligious, interethnic, and inter-language conflicts.[45]

Social Identity Stages: Tajfel and Turner proposed three mental processes involved in assessing others as "us" or "them" in the order of importance:

C*ategorisation* is an attempt to recognise, understand and categorise people-including ourselves - to comprehend social environments because of its usefulness. Allocation of category tells something about a group. If we can allocate someone to a category, it tells us something about

the group and ourselves and functions normally by appropriating the behaviour of group standards.

Social Identification: After categorisation, the group's identity is adopted. After defining one's identity, one acts according to that identity by conforming to the group's norms. Group membership affects the member's self-esteem.

Social comparison: Finally, after identifying with a group, we compare our group with other groups. Our group must compare favourably to others to sustain self-esteem. Once two groups identify as rivals, they must compete to retain members' self-esteem. Competition and antagonism between groups are not just about competing for resources (like jobs) but also about competing *identities.*[46]

Collective identity at the collective group level concerns the shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity. Klandermans and de Weerd say group identification links collective and social identity, bridging individual and collective identity. Identity levels necessitate distinct analysis. Symbols, rituals, beliefs, and shared values can help reveal a group's identity. An individual's group identification can be researched by studying their views, attitudes, dedication to the group, usage of symbols, involvement in rituals, etc. Collective identity is neither fixed nor innate but emerges through struggle as different political actors interact and react to each other, including the movement. The salience of any given collective identity affects social movements' mobilisation, trajectory, and even impacts. Consequently, collective identity has become a central concept in the study of social movements.[47]

4.3.3. Personal Identity Theory: If Social Psychology studies the individual as an agent of society, psychology studies the individual as an autonomous unit. According to Hitlin, two theories explain self-concept, Identity and Identity Formation in Psychology. If Identity Theory defines the above notions with roles played by an individual, the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Turner explains it with group membership and its impact on identity and identity Formation. Rieber synthesises Self and Identity based on personal characteristics found in the person's identity. Personal identity theory helps see the effects of personal attributes that social and role identity theories neglect.[48]

Hewitt defines personal identity as "a sense of self-built up over time as the person embarks on and pursues projects or goals that are not thought of as those of community, but as the property of the person. Thus, personal identity emphasises autonomy rather than communal involvement"[49]

However, Hitlin, Burke, Baumeister, Prentice, and Stets, say that identity and identity formation are based on roles, group membership, and personality. Hitlin believes *value*s help us to find personal input in identity construction. He believes personal identity is generated through value commitments. Gecas and Hitlin agree that values shape identity and are key to personal identity. The values established by society and internalised by individuals result in "reflexive constructions of multiple roles, the group, and value identities", according to Hitlin[50]

Seligman and Katz, who have studied the functions of values in orienting humans to their surroundings, think that values create *"situated identities."* According to them, values and situations can produce identity by impacting people's perceptions and behaviour choices and helping them to find better circumstances. The second one helps to understand how personal values affect group membership decisions.

What causes people with the same values to behave differently is difficult to answer. Is it environment, group, or personal factors? Though most researchers think that all the above aspects are responsible, personal identity theorists believe that personal factors are responsible for behavioural differences. However, to avoid oversimplified statements, Hewitt's personal identification perspective has elements of both. Hewitt defines personal identity as "a sense of continuity, integration, identification, and differentiation constructed by the person, not about a community and its culture but the self and its projects".[51]

This theory answers the reasons for identity change, from the flexibility of values. Values are flexible. Values alter, transform, reform, and revolutionise. As society's values change, so do individuals. Dramatic occurrences can create personal value changes as well as societal ones. When the values of an individual change, the self-image and identity also change. Therefore, Hitlin emphasises the relationship between identities and behaviours on personal identity change. He claims "personal identity shapes- but is also shaped by our other identities and activities"[52]

Swidler, who criticises how certain scholars use values to explain personal identity, identity change, and identity formation as deterministic, emphasises the impact of the relationship. Values are important as long as they have meaning to the possessor. However, values become meaningless if people do not assign behaviour-changing meanings to a value. She considers the nature of values and their meaning to Self in identity formation and change. For her, the values' interaction with other values is the major determinant of personal identity.[53]

Various researchers have applied Identity and Identity Formation as a theoretical framework to study various cultural, ethnic, professional, national, religious, gender, language and disability movements in liberal democracies, giving rise to the Identity Politics concept. "Identity Politics refers to political positions based on the interests and perspectives of social groups with which people identify. It is politics in which groups of people having a particular racial, religious, ethnic, social, or cultural identity tend to promote their specific interests or concerns without regard to the interests or concerns of any larger political group."[54] Identity politics is how people's politics is affected by their identities via loosely connected social groups. Identity is used to establish group differences and obtain influence and respect in the context of perceived unfairness or injustice.

4.4. MULTICULTURALISM:

Multiculturalism is another Theoretical Framework used in this research to study 'Language Politics in India'. Identity formation and identity politics are unavoidable parts of a multicultural society. Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka, and Bhiku Parekh, the advocates of the theory of Multiculturalism, believe that cultures have their own unique and authentic essence and, therefore, liberal political order should be based and guaranteed on respective cultural contexts.

The phenomenon of pluralism is universal. In pluralistic countries, minorities can assimilate with the majority, explained through the "Melting Pot" model, where minorities merging with the majority lose their distinct identity. However, it is also possible that the minority may desire to retain their distinct identity, like the ingredients of "Salad Bowl", as propounded by Ashish Nandi or that of "Sandwich", as suggested by Yogish Atul, like that of "insider or outsider duality" which was seen in the Social Identity Theory.[55]

Insider or outsider duality may create a situation of resistance or resilience in minorities. However, over time, resistance may become weak, insider or outsider distinction may get blurred, and resilience may creep in through innovation, which means returning to the former position without annihilation.

Important features of Multiculturalism are:

1. Different cultures should be strengthened or maintained when they come from minority or weaker populations.
2. This viewpoint is founded on the premise of several good ways to see the world. However, as an alternative, there are several conflicting interpretations of what constitutes the good life.
3. Since these groups are entitled to "social justice," the state should implement affirmative action to benefit society's underprivileged groups.
4. These communities no longer accept being ignored, marginalised, or labelled as deviant just because they are different in terms of ethnicity, culture, gender, ability, or sexual orientation from the 'regular' citizenry, as it were. Instead, they call for a more inclusive idea of citizenship that acknowledges (instead of stigmatises) their identities. Additionally, one that accepts rather than excludes their distinctions.
5. It wants a diverse political system that guarantees citizenship.[56]

The study of insider or outsider differences of a minority group is politics of identity started through the development of minority consciousness. They take pride in their exclusive identity and demand a proper place in the social and political setup of the country. Multiculturalism is the recognition and assignment of separate and distinct identities to certain neglected and stigmatised sections of society. It strives to preserve its identity in the political arena to avoid being treated as a second-class citizen. In other words, it rejects any fascist system which imposes unitary culture for all sections. It rejects any tendency of forced assimilation of different people and dictatorial government and practices equality of rights, worth and dignity of all citizens to maintain unity and diversity. Multiculturalism, therefore, attacks political, social, and cultural injustice. It attacks domination, non-recognition and disrespect of any culture.[57]

Positively Multiculturalism enables minorities of any type to preserve their identity and seek their development like the majority. It stands on the idea of "Unity in Diversity". Moreover, it recognises the merit and worth of every individual, making him/her a significant part of nation-building.

Negatively Multiculturalism may induce antinational tendencies. Thus, if multiculturalism supporters highlight personal and cultural diversities, critics argue that it leads to fractures and conflict-ridden societies.

Some of the authors who have used Identity and Identity Formation Theory and Multiculturalism as Theoretical background include HO Kin Tong and Lin Hong Cheung to "define cultural globalisation, and cultural glocalisation in terms of cultural identity (CI) and language"[58], Niklas Bernsand, Lund to delineate "How Language forms are connected with conceptualisations of national identity in contemporary Ukrainian Nationalist identity."[59], Elna Shohamy and Lan Curdt-Christiansen argue how "language and ideology in textbooks can be used in teaching languages like Arabic and Hebrew in Israel as powerful tools for promoting critical thinking, intercultural competence, coexistence and equality between two groups rather than nationalism and propaganda."[60], Ruth and Wosdak portray how "Language power and identity are closely connected in the formation of identity, and vested interests can digress and continually reconstruct and construct identities in the economy and legal frameworks."[61] Moreover, Social locations express the core of a person's existence in the social-political world,[62] as demonstrated by Kirk and Okazawa-Rey. A.P.Ashwin Kumar analyses the Linguistic Reorganization of States, nationalism, philology, and linguistic identity to examine language as a sign of identity and argues that nationalism should be studied as a cultural phenomenon by exploring the limitations of western theological apparatuses.[63] Gitika Commuri examines the importance of identity in international and national policy regarding self/other interactions relevant to state objectives and policies. It addresses secular and religious-cultural discourses of identity on India's internal and global affairs.[64]

5. HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses guide the research:

5.1. Despite having the ability to be divisive, language has been playing an essential role in the integration of the multilingual, multicultural, diverse Indian nation.

5.2. The linguistic reorganisation of the States was politically inevitable though newly independent India had to resolve other important and urgent problems.

5.3. Language, region, and caste are interrelated in creating an identity leading to the emergence of identity politics in multicultural India.

5.4. In the multicultural country, India, Language Politics continues through language conflicts, language movements, language policies, and educational policies.

6. OBJECTIVES

This research has the following objectives:

6.1. To describe the role of language in integrating multilingual India amidst all types of diversities.

6.2. To delineate the role of languages soon after independence in the formation of linguistic states and to discover whether language still plays a role in carving out a new state while raising a cry for a new state and when it comes to disputes between the states.

6.3. To portray the processes and circumstances that led to recognising languages under various categories.

6.4. To explore the type and extent of the relationship between language and region in forming an identity for attaining and retaining power.

6.5. To assess the relationship between Mother Tongue, caste, dialect, and script and their interconnectedness in establishing identity and otherness, as well as to investigate the causes of the conflict between languages, language and dialect, language and scripts, language, and language Standardisation, as manifested in Language Movements in multicultural India.

6.6. To examine the role played by the state through its legislations, policies, and programs in the present status of Language Politics.

7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

7.1. Exploratory Method: The present research depends on the following methods to provide a theoretical and logical basis. The researcher has used a mixed methodology to investigate 'Language Politics in India' as the topic is primarily qualitative. Though Exploratory Research Methodology is extensively used, the explanatory part is not forgotten while deducing the explanations to investigate and analyse the existing issues with a new perspective. For the data collection, mixed resources have been used.

7.2. Primary Sources: This study is based on primary sources like Parliamentary Committee Reports, Census Reports, various Union Government Legislations, various State Government Legislations, Linguistic Surveys conducted by the British Government in India before Independence, Educational Policies of the Union Governments, the Supreme Court Judgements, the Constitution of India, UNESCO Report on Endangered Languages, Human Rights conventions, and International Human Rights. This study has also taken data from e-source, especially from governmental websites and governmental records.

The study is based on analysing various historical events and documents to study the genesis, process and consequences of Language Politics in different parts of the country. In the primary Source, data obtained from the Government is heavily used for the analysis and derivation of conclusions. In addition, a qualitative approach, such as informal discussions with scholars and professors, was also used to collect information to evaluate the data. However, since this research is exhaustive, caution is taken to compare and verify both the primary and secondary data to draw definitive conclusions with extreme caution.

7.3. Sources of Secondary Data: Miscellaneous documents served as secondary data for analysing various views. Due to the politico-linguistic nature of the research, the documentary analysis includes a comprehensive overview of the existing fundamentals of Language, Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Articles of analysis on various Language Policies, Committee Reports, articles on Supreme Court Judgements, and Judiciary. To this aim, local and foreign

publications, articles, journals, news items and speeches on the Supreme Court and its activities are included as sources of information.

The study was brought to this stage by spending sufficient time accumulating and analysing books, journals, magazines, newspapers, research papers published in different journals and other reference materials like leaflets. In addition, the researcher has accessed information from E-Resource like Infilibnet, NGOs' websites and the UNESCO website, which is acknowledged.

8. CHAPTER SCHEME AND FINDINGS

Understanding of Language and its impact differs from person to person and also from time to time. For a linguist, a language is an object to be analysed and studied from a broader perspective. Thus, Language as an object is to be analysed, pulled apart, understood historically, and 'deconstructed' in its social effect. Language, as means, is a tool to communicate to formulate thoughts as effectively as possible. Language has been a debatable issue for most people, especially in a multicultural society like India.

Nevertheless, the Language gets filled with emotion when viewed as an object. Language as an object of emotion is also a surrogate of nationalism, identity and icon making up our world. Language is not merely a means of expression for many but also a 'political force'. It is a pawn in the tug of domestic politics for a few.

The issues raised in this study are that language is viewed both as an object and a means of communication surrounded by identity and larger political issues. Predominantly Language Politics is examined as a conflict resolution through compromise and consensus to attain and retain power regarding the languages used in Multicultural India. Language Politics is also examined through the various types of language conflicts like a choice of a dialect, choice of a language, medium of instruction, medium of communication, and medium of administration. Language Politics is being addressed in this study as a language Conflict arising because of linking and delinking identities, ethnicities, attitudes, and use, disuse, and misuse of language in different domains. Therefore, this study is explained under two heads: Conflicts arising from the general aspects of the language and conflicts arising from the social aspects of the language.

While analysing Language Politics from the social aspects of language, the power of language in the nation's unity and integrity and the Reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis is quite visible. Therefore, an effort is made to analyse Language Politics arising from the various social aspects of language like language and the socialisation process in a monolingual society versus multilingual society, National Language versus State language, Local Language versus Language of wider communication, conflict arising from the use, disuse, and misuse of languages, and conflicts arising from the Social Aspects of the Languages like dialects, scripts, styles, and Standardisation.

The present study is not merely a historical dig into Language Politics in India or an analysis of the political power of the language situation today but also the linguistic impact of the past on the present. Hence the study entailed not just a glance into the history books but a perusal of reports of various commissions and committees, Parliamentary debates, questions and answers in the parliament, reports of various linguistic surveys, various parliamentary and State legislations and ordinances, constitutional debates and Constitutional provisions and various apex court judgements. Finding and understanding the connotations and nuances of these resources was not easy. Much of this data is taken from the government website archives. In addition, this study has used newspaper reports and articles to study the impact of Language Politics today. Again, gathering the resources was not an easy task.

8.1. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER ONE:

Chapter one explained the concept of Language Politics in India and provided a direction for the study by problematisation of issues involved in Language Politics. The first chapter gave a brief understanding of Language with its various definitions. The purpose of the research followed: "Background of the study", where the researcher attempted to explain how Language and politics are related and how Language and aspects of Language are initiators of politics and lead to the polymerisation of politics. The chapter also mentioned the research on the various aspects of Language that were politicised, followed by the justification of how the present research differs from previous studies. The justification is followed by the Theoretical Frameworks, namely the Identity and Identity Formation Theory and Multiculturalism Theory chosen by the researcher to analyse the Language Politics in India for the confinement and making the issue relevant. The

chapter also attempted to clarify the concept of Language Politics in detail and its various aspects. Finally, the Literature Review synthesises primary and secondary sources related to Language Politics.

This study was mainly based on library research. The primary sources such as Parliamentary Committee Reports, Census Reports, various Union Government legislations, various State Government Legislations, Linguistic Surveys conducted by the British Government in India before Independence, Educational Policies of the Union Governments, Supreme Court Judgements, the Constitution of India, UNESCO Report on Endangered Human rights conventions, Languages, and International Human Rights are extensively used. This study has also taken data from E-Resource, especially from governmental websites and governmental records.

The Secondary Sources used for this research are the documentary analysis and comprehensive overview of the existing fundamentals of Language, Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Articles of analysis on various Language Policies, Committee Reports, Supreme Court Judgements, and Judiciary. To this aim, local and foreign publications, articles, journals, news items and speeches on the Supreme Court and its activities are included as sources of information. In addition, the researcher has accessed information from E-Resource like Infilibnet, NGOs' websites and the UNESCO website, which is acknowledged.

8.2. FINDINGS OF CHAPTER TWO:

The second chapter on 'Language and National Integration' scrutinised the strengths and weaknesses of a language in the nation's Integration as India is multilingual, unlike the unilingual nation-states of Europe. Since Language was an object of emotion due to its power to create an identity, the role of Language in the Integration of India was analysed in Chapter Two, and the findings were as follows:

8.2.1. National Integration is not just geographical Integration; it is an integration of hearts and minds that entails the emotional Integration of Indians without any distinction, including Language. National Integration transcends caste, class, gender, religion, region and Language borders and stands for 'Indian'. When National Integration is viewed as a feeling of unity

towards the country for the pursuit of harmony for serving the nation's development and security, it becomes visible even amidst various Language Movements like the Sikh Regiment serving the Indian Army and their role in the Indo-Pak war in 1965 when Punjab Suba movement was going on. However, Language, the Identity and identity formation component, has the capacity for Integration and disintegration. Being a force of Identity, it can test national unity.

8.2.2. The power of languages in the Integration of India could be seen in the adaptation of Sanskrit Grammar and translation of Sanskrit Classics by the majority of Indian languages. Before the arrival of the British, the Sanskrit had supplied a basis for cultural unity and intellectual intercourse. The Sannyasis who travelled through the country experienced no difficulties debating highly controversial subjects among themselves and the country's elite. Similarly, the integrating power of the Persian Language could be seen in the adaptation of Persian terminology in the legal system.

8.2.3. Conversely, English has integrated India through its use in administration and education, despite having the 'foreign' language tag. The oft-repeated phrase that there was no National unity or Integration among the people of India before the advent of the British could not be justified. The protagonists of this view believe that the British's modern communication and English Language in the provinces brought about a feeling of oneness among the country's people. Nevertheless, this argument did not stand the test of knowledge because various rulers united India much before the arrival of the British through their administrative languages like Sanskrit or Persian. Moreover, Indian unity was more profound, beyond geographical isolation, political suzerainty and linguistic unity. Indian unity transcended the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect. The British controlled power through the English Language in various provinces in India for 200 years, and English continued its power even after Independence as one of the Official Languages due to its global nature and Indianisation capacity. Being the administrative, link, and global Language, English has the real power of Integration.

8.2.4. Meanwhile, linguistic parochialism has become visible through protests and demonstrations, but they are not powerful enough to garner secessionist power. On the contrary, regional linguistic movements have crystallised regional languages and aided local Integration.

With the arrival of the British, the English language united Indians to a certain extent. Furthermore, the self-conscious people from different parts of our country combined to release Indians into the struggle for freedom for one India as part of the modern world. Therefore, the importance of English cannot and should not be minimised regardless of whether Hindi or another language is designated as India's link language because English is a language of world importance. It is a window to the world.

8.2.5. Regarding national Integration and unity, linguistic and factional interests should be secondary. While giving prominence to the national interest, regional linguistic interests may need to be sacrificed. Nevertheless, that should not be done at the cost of the threat of Identity. Sometimes, a need also may arise to curb the Linguistic consciousness to a certain extent, for example, in the case of the Standardisation of a language. Standardising most languages is tough as many people speak their dialects over broad regions. However, for the sake of Integration, it may be required to curb the dialectic consciousness even though it is ideal to respect the Identity of various dialects as it enriches the Language. It was only when a language was given its due Identity as Mother Tongue, Regional Language, Official Language and National Language that it worked as an instrument of Integration. Thus, the demand for Andhra Pradesh, the Dravidian movement in Tamil Nandu, and the Subha movement of Punjab were demands for Identity, not disintegration, were pacified.

8.2.6. Identity threat faced by the minority language groups whereby the fear of losing their cultural Identity made them suspicious of the action of the dominant community, which increased the emotional gap between them and led to further alienation. It became an apparent threat to National Integration which was clear from the opposition faced by the Hindi in the Constituent Assembly when Hindi was to be made the medium of communication between different states. The resolution was passed favouring Hindi by a majority of a single vote. The opposition was due to the fear that Hindi speaking States' people and Hindi-speaking states would become dominant, and the regional languages would also be neglected, which was clear from the Dravidian movement in Tamil Nadu, Konkani movement in Goa, Suba movement in Punjab, Mizo movement in Mizoram, Naga movement in Nagaland etc.

8.2.7. Language and National Integration were directly connected with Federalism. Even the State Reorganisation Committee knew the relationship between the two. Realising that the fortifying of the Centre was essential for successfully channelising the powers contributing to national Integration, the States Reorganization Commission accepted it as the need of the hour, remembering the presence of solid linguistic and cultural powers inside the country. Only Linguistic homogeneity appeared as a solitary premise for reorganising the states, for it mirrored well-defined linguistic and cultural regions in the country. However, while reorganising the states on a linguistic basis to strengthen national Integration, the States Reorganization Commission emphasised the Centre's preponderance in strengthening the Union. State Reorganisation Committee and Sarkaria Commission considered the rise of subnational powers as a hindrance to the Integration of the country, as they initiated their movements based on Language, religion or ethnicity and then mixed with it issues of economic backwardness that resulted in the rise of linguistic chauvinism, rearrangement of the boundaries of the States on the linguistic basis resulting in fissiparous tendencies.

8.2.8. The majority of the secessionist movements in the states of Assam, Punjab, and the North-Eastern States of Nagaland and Manipur, which were considered a threat to National Integration, could be pacified because they were given complete autonomy within the overall framework of national unity and when their uneven economic development, severe unemployment and relative backwardness was assured to be removed. However, the political elites' linguistic Identity used to attain power blurred the vision of National Integration in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Assam, Mizoram, etc., where regional parties still have a hold. Indian Integration was based on 'unity in diversity. Any attempt to bring unity through administrative coercion that violated or disrespected a particular identity became an irritant for National Integration. For example, the Language Movement in the mid-sixties in the South, particularly in Tamil Nadu, was against excluding English and the continuation of Hindi alone as the Official Language.

India primarily achieved political Integration as people accepted its administrative network and abided by its law and Constitution. However, emotional Integration is an ongoing process because many language groups continue to ask for separate states, namely, Tulu Nādu, Chotanagpur, Gorkhaland, etc., and their inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, which was an attempt at Identity assertion. Nevertheless, Language as a force of Integration had

become possible because of the equal importance given to the different regional languages for the well-being and progress of the nation towards the attainment of secularism, common citizenship, equality of rights, and opportunities for a unified judicial system.

8.3. FINDINGS OF CHAPTER THREE:

In Chapter Three, the researcher examined the role of languages in the Reorganisation of Indian states after Independence and its antecedents in pre-independent India to understand the profundity of the power of Language, sometimes interspersed with other factors. Some of the essential findings of this chapter were:

8.3.1. Governments, political parties, and linguistic elites planted the seeds for the Linguistic Reorganisation of States in pre- and post-independent India, even while the nation faced security and stability issues. Language Elites exploited Language to provoke emotions for political purposes, such as the British Government's splitting of Bengal in 1905 and the Reorganisation of the Bengal Presidency as a unilingual province in 1912. The All-India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress founded the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee from Telugu-speaking Madras Presidency provinces in 1917. In 1921, Congress modified its Constitution and reorganised its geographical branches by Language.

8.3.2. Though the Reorganisation of the states was not an urgent and important issue to be solved, and though the Reorganisation of states could have been done based on factors other than Language, Language was the initiating and most influential factor; otherwise, the Linguistic Provinces Commission could not have been set up in 1948, and when the Commission's Report was not favouring the Linguistic Reorganisation of the states, JVP Committee could not have been appointed in the same year to study the issue. When the JVP Committee sounded a note of caution contrary to the linguistic rule, in 1953, due to political pressure, Andhra Pradesh was carved out for the Telugu speakers as the first State to be formed on the linguistic basis, which became the precedent for the future shows the power of linguistic identity politics.

8.3.3. The linguistic Reorganisation of states had shown that Indian Federalism was a living organism based on the flexible and rigid nature of the Constitution. Even when there were secessionist tendencies from the regional language groups, Constitution was rigid enough to hold

together the disintegrating forces and flexible enough to grant them a linguistic state recognising the rights of a majority linguistic group and protecting the rights of minority linguistic groups. Linguistic Reorganisation done through the Seventh Amendment to the Indian Constitution manifested the flexibility of the young Constitution.

8.3.4. Though the Linguistic Reorganisation of the States Solved the Majoritarion Language Politics, it laid the foundation for minority Language Politics through Minority Rights, Minority Protection and Reservation for Minorities. When in 1956, states were carved based on majority languages, minority languages emerged. Minority means a language with fewer speakers and does not enjoy official status. The minority language came to be defined as the Language of the minority community, which has numerically less than half of the population in the local area. Interestingly, a language with an official status spoken by fewer people did not become a minority language.

8.3.5. Even though the linguistic rearrangement of the states through the reallocation of territories brought about a union of people communicating in the same Language together, not a single state in the Indian Republic emerged monolingual though it decreased the linguistic minorities.

8.3.6. Though states were formed on a linguistic basis, the principles used were not strictly linguistic, like: ‘One language, one State’ or ‘Non-linguistic State’. Even the Dhar Commission had suggested not to form States principally on a linguistic basis alone but on geographical contiguity, economic independence and simplicity of organisation. States were formed on a linguistic basis because of political expediency. Moreover, Language camouflaged with religion in the creation of Punjab, racial and cultural distinctiveness in the creation of the tribal states of North-East, Caste in opposing the establishment of Andhra by the Tamil and Telugu-speaking Brahmans in Madras and Economic and social backwardness were predominant. For example, though it seemed that Punjab and Haryana were organised on a linguistic basis, there were communal undercurrents. On the other hand, Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Mizoram were organised on an ethnic basis. Nagaland was the first State given the political concession to be reorganised after 1956 on a non-linguistic basis.

8.3.7. The Reorganisation of States is a lengthy process that started at the beginning of the 20th century and seems to have not ended because new states are created, and states are also devoid of their status, as in the case of Jammu and Kashmir. For instance, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was downgraded into the Union Territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh by enacting the Bill Jammu Kashmir Reorganisation Act, 2019, in Rajya Sabha on 5 August 2019. Moreover, the Linguistic Reorganisation of states seems to have lost its lustre but not the Reorganisation of states because the criteria for the Reorganisation of the states is no longer linguistically noticeable as in the case of recently created states of Telangana, Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh indicating that Language as power is debilitating. The creation of Telangana, a part of the first linguistically established State – Andhra Pradesh – was bifurcated because of the movements initiated for social and economic development. On the other hand, the vociferous demand for a tribal state of Jharkhand achieved its statehood, but the Chhota-Nagpur because it received little outside support and appeared to be moribund for the time being.

8.4. FINDINGS OF CHAPTER FOUR:

In chapter four, after briefly explaining the importance of classification, the researcher gives a world view of classifications of languages and scripts in general and then, in detail, narrates the various available classifications of Indian languages. Then, the researcher has highlighted the linguistic profile of our country from various standpoints, especially the Languages of India According to the Census Report and Languages of India According to the Indian Constitution, which is followed by the repercussions of Classifications, Policies and Programmes on Languages. The various findings of this chapter are:

8.4.1. It was difficult to enumerate the number of languages in India. However, various classifications of Indian languages give different pictures of Indian languages. Moreover, several languages vary in classifications because of the Agent and the Purpose of classification. Though Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India was a significant development and culmination of the colonial project of classification and standardisations of the Indian languages, it was non-exhaustive and non-accurate. Moreover, it included the Languages of British India: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma. On the other hand, the People's Linguistic Survey of India was an exhaustive survey that provided a detailed view of India's living languages and their cultural

and social practices to bridge and strengthen the gap between various languages and arrest the extinction of linguistic, cultural, and biological diversity.

8.4.2. Hindi is the Official Language of India and English is the Associate Official language. India does not have a national language. However, all the 22 languages recognised by the Indian Constitution are national languages which place all these languages on equal footing, and the imposition of any one language over the other is against the wishes of the Constitution. Of the 28 States, only 15 are linguistically consistent with their names.

8.4.3. Recognition of the languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution seemed to be the farsighted thinking of the Fathers of the Constitution, but the time flexibility to include more languages on the List was also a perennial problem. Initially, there were only 14 languages, but now 22 are on the List, and 45 await their inclusion**.** Out of the 99 non-Scheduled languages, 85 languages have more than 25,000 speakers or more than Sanskrit speakers (24,821) according to the 2011 Census, and it is the Additional Official Language of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand which shows the favouritism accorded to a minority language probably because it is considered a sacred language! Moreover, Sanskrit is recognised as a Scheduled Language.

8.4.4. According to the 2011 Census Report, the number of Scheduled languages was 22, and the number of non-Scheduled languages was 99. A language was Non-Scheduled when it had more than 10000 speakers. Since it was prestige and recognition of Identity, the non-Scheduled languages are constantly vying to be included in the Eighth Schedule.

8.4.5. In India, one State can have more than one Official Language called Additional Official Language. So, for example, Andhra Pradesh has two official languages- Telugu and Urdu; Bengal has Bengali and Bodo; Jharkhand has Hindi and 15 other languages; Sikkim has four Official Languages and eight additional Official Languages. English is the official Language of four states and one union territory- Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya Nagaland, Sikkim and Chandigarh. Hindi is the Official Language of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Utter Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

8.4.6. Government is the primary Agent of Language Politics through administrative measures like linguistic census, surveys, criteria and classifications: For example, the criterion set was

unclear in declaring India's Classical Language. As a result, Odiya had to fight for its status. Though Pali meets all these criteria prescribed to determine its eligibility as a classical language, it has not been accorded classical Language, perhaps because it did not have political clout like other languages. Nevertheless, National Education Policy 2020 considers it one of India's classical languages. Similarly, states could declare their Official Languages even if they are not in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, owing to which Kokborok (Tripura), Khasi and Garo (Meghalaya) and Mizo (Mizoram) decorate the status of 'Official Language of State.' Through its policy decisions, the Government can make a language non-existent. For example, according to the 2011 census, out of the 1369 mother tongues, 22 are recognised as Scheduled, and 99 as non-scheduled. In addition, through its decision, the Government has shown that all those languages with less than 10000 speakers are not worth counting, and their Identity does into the matter. As a result, according to Devy, there are 600 potentially Endangered Languages in India. India's People's Linguistic Survey classifies an additional 197 dialects as Endangered. Over the recent fifty years.

8.4.7. he Government's Rationalisation policy is also responsible for language death. According to the Census Department's report, there were 6661 raw mother tongue returns in 2001. These raw returns were scrutinised to check whether they were natural languages or designations provided by the respondents. The rationalisation reduced the number of mother tongues from 6661 to 1635, by which 26 languages were assigned to the category 'Others'. The 1635 mother tongues were further analysed under the existing linguistic information, and only mother tongues with more than 10000 speakers were considered appropriate languages for the presentation in the 2001 Census Report. As a result, only 122 languages could appear on the List. It means 22 languages included in the Eight Schedule and 100 languages with more than 10000 speakers. In other words, out of the 1661 total raw return mother tongues, 1539 languages were relegated to 'others'. The number of speakers included in the 'other' category was 17 62,388.

8.4.8. Language agitations or movements to include a language in the Eighth Schedule or to designate a language as Classical are Movements against the dominance of other languages, not to preserve language purity. The Maithili Movement, for example, was for a Maithili linguistic identity. However, the movement fizzled out when the Maithili Language was regarded as independent, not Hindi's dialect. In addition, calls for membership in the Eight Schedule or

Classical classification for a language are not simply for purity but for acknowledgement and statement of its uniqueness. For example, Tamils revolted when Tamil Nadu science textbooks used many Sanskrit terminology. They desired their mother tongue in schools, music, and worship. Thus, it is more than just a campaign for language purity; it also expresses wrath, powerlessness, and dread towards Hindi and identity recognition.

8.5. FINDINGS OF CHAPTER FIVE:

In Chapter Five, titled 'Languages Today', the researcher examined Mother Tongue, Language Policies and Language Movements in India. The first part of the chapter dealt with the problems in the definition of mother tongue, mother tongue and identity formation, mother tongue and Language identity in a multilingual country and mother tongue and language death.

In the second part of the chapter, Language Planning and Policies of the Union and state governments are explained and scrutinised. Policies analysed include Official, Scheduled and Classical languages and various education policies, including National Education Policy 2020. Finally, in the third part of the chapter, various language movements in post-Independent India were discussed: Sindh Movement, Anti-English Movement, Tribal Languages Movement, Anti-Hindi Movement, Gokak Agitation, Hindi -Urdu controversy, Suba Movement, Konkani Movement. Some of the essential findings of this chapter were the following:

8.5.1. Mother Tongue is an elusive concept. Its varied perceptions include native, original, home, and Language obtained without formal learning. The Census Department of India displays non-unanimity regarding the definition of the mother tongue.

8.5.2. Since it is difficult to interpret, test, and explain the concept of the Mother Tongue and the number of Mother Tongues in India, Planners of Language shun any discussion. The fear of engaging in discussion has led to the endangerment and death of languages for which Governments cannot avoid their responsibility regarding the lack of policies.

8.5.3. Like religion, ethnicity, and gender, Language is also an essential component of Identity. Identity formation and loss can happen through the use or non-use of Language. Identity formation and identity assertion in Language can be seen in aspects of Languages like Mother Tongue, Script, Dialect, and Nation-states. Moreover, a Dialect of a language also can be a

source of identity assertion. Example: Various dialects of Hindi, like Bhojpuri, Maithili, Rajasthani, and Pahadi, had asserted their right to separate identities. Therefore, the role of Language and its components in identity politics is enormous.

8.5.4. Various aspects of Language, like scripts and dialects, can be a source of identity stimulation. For example, India has 193 languages, 1652 mother tongues and ten major writing systems. These aspects can create a micro-identity, macro-Identity, or primary or pan-Indian Identity. For example, Assamese provides a micro identity if the Nagari script provides a macro identity. On the other hand, Sanskrit acted as the cultural gold standard of Identity for the vast majority of the country by providing a common vocabulary, syntactic structure, semantic field, themes, modes, and aesthetic perceptions with macro-Identity.

8.5.5. Language and script create an identity, but sometimes even Language and script also identified with a religion reinforce the Identity. For example, Urdu with Perso-Arabic script is identified with Islam, as Sanskrit and Nagari scripts are identified with Hinduism. The Bengali language is identified with the Brahmos, and the Pali language is identified with Buddhism. Konkani, written in Roman script, is identified with Christians, and Konkani, written in Devanagari, is identified with Hindus in Goa.

8.5.6. In India, one person may enjoy multiple linguistic identities. In addition, primary identities are linked with higher-level identities, which are valid even for languages. For example, a resident of Dakshin Kannada may have an identity of his mother tongue, state language and national Language.

8.5.7. By labelling a language as a dialect, minor Language, and secondary Language, Governments can cause identity annihilation. Moreover, the Government's Reductionist Policy- assimilating a language group with less than 10000 speakers- is the cause of the loss of language identity and revolt by the minority language speakers. While laudable from the 'national' and administrative point of view, the so-called 'assimilationist goal' is a device to swallow the small fish, leading to the loss of identities for many languages.

8.5.8. Sociolinguists have identified language shift as the major cause of language death. Causes of language shift can be personal or administrative. Personal causes of language shift are

obtaining a job, the type of educational system, the influence of the media, or the nature of the political pressures and Language policies. Administrative causes of Language Shift are language planning and strategies. If a language is lost, the culture, history, tradition, heritage, and continuity world- view of that Language are lost. In addition, with the death of a language, the Identity - individual, communal, and global is lost. Therefore, language death should be prevented.

8.5.9. Framers of the Constitution had a formidable challenge in settling official language issues. The Eighth Schedule was neither based on the ideology of Fundamental Rights nor the principle of equality of opportunity. Instead, it was an arrangement to differentiate between the majority and minority languages.

8.5.10. Constituent Assembly was primarily interested in safeguarding one Indian Identity and its unity, rising above diversity and micro identities. Language identity was not their concern, but linguistic right was granted to preserve their Identity to establish and administer their educational institutions.

8.5.11. Governments use the educational system to develop a national identity through a dominant language, especially in multilingual countries. For example, the country's Tri-lingual Educational Policy compels the students to study dominant languages like Hindi and English, often sacrificing the study of the mother tongue. This imposition of dominant languages has left millions of people speaking minority mother tongues and dialects illiterate in their mother tongue.

8.5.12. Languages have the power to form communities, societies, and nations and break them. Therefore, various language movements in India were perceived as movements for recognising their Identity, rights, and being and becoming.

8.5.13. A Mother tongue status is negated to a language for various reasons like political interests, considerable ambivalence regarding the autonomy of the Language, confusion inherent in the definition of mother tongue, and the dominant unitary philosophy of the nation.

8.5.14. In a multilingual country, many languages are acquired through socialisation seamlessly by participating in the communicative world where the 'other' is respected for 'being different.'

Especially in the twilight zones of states' borders. In a multilingual country, the question of inclusion and exclusion or 'we' and the 'other' is a matter of attitudes from the perspective of dominant monolingualism.

8.5.15. In a multilingual country, when one Language dominates, the other languages are constantly under threat. For instance, when English asserts, Hindi is threatened; when Hindi asserts, Kannada is threatened; and Kannada asserts Konkani or Tulu or Kodava is threatened.

8.5.16. A constant call for National Integration exerts tension on minor and minority languages. It forces the minority and various powerless groups to assimilate with the dominant. National integrationists assert that the 'mainstream' is synonymous with the dominant language or culture.

8.5.17. Usually, politically and economically deprived classes are constantly threatened by losing their Language and culture. Thus, though 19,88,350 people speak Kurukh/Oraon, it is not recognised in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution but Sanskrit, spoken by only 24,821speakers, is.

8.5.18. Minorities and majorities vastly differ in their attitude towards maintaining linguistic or cultural identities. For example, in multilingual countries, minorities have an Integration attitude, whereas the majority have segregation.

8.5.19. In a multilingual country, Language may cause damage to society. Being related to Identity and culture, it can quickly stir people, divide and isolate one group from others, and cause language movements, language riots, and demand for linguistic states

8.5.20. Colonial languages have created an elitism, stopping the development of the local and regional languages, blocking the free flow of communication, and leading to cultural impoverishment by making them believe that local languages are of limited intellect and are not helpful for cognitive development leading to the disenfranchisement and marginalisation of native languages.

8.5.21. Major or minor languages had lived in coexistence without assimilating into India for thousands of years. However, with their attitude of superiority and inferiority, the colonial languages threatened to assimilate smaller, weaker, and unequal languages, which created an

imbalance in various languages' relationships. From the situation where language maintenance was a rule, they moved to a position where language loss became a rule.

8.5.22. The Selective language standardisation and modernisation followed by the various governments have given rise to dominant indigenous languages, which begin to oppress the more minor languages, a kind of internal colonisation.

8.5.23. In dominant monolingual countries, language boundaries are sharper as minor language identities are reinforced because of heightened consciousness, whereas in multilingual countries, language boundaries merge seamlessly without a break in communication.

8.5.24. Language policy refers to the various tactics of power that operate at multiple levels in language planning. The issue of power plays a vital role while determining language policy. In India, language legitimisation, either through officialisation or through naming, is a language policy whereby the Census's Reports of India have sometimes denied the rights to some mother tongues through their definitions.

8.5.25. The language policy of the governments can be spelt out in the following areas: Declaration of official languages, Declaration of Scheduled languages, Policy regarding the Minority languages, Education policies of the Government, New Education Policy, and National Education policy.

8.5.26. There has not been a consistent Education Policy till 1968, and whatever policies followed were not consistent regarding the use of languages in education. Education Policy 1968 reaffirmed the Three Language Formula. All policies favoured the mother tongue in education at the primary stage. The fundamental intention behind the 'The Three language Formula' had been national unity and easy intra-state, inter-state, and international communication. The accomplishment of this objective required adherence to the formula by the Centre, States, and Union territory governments. However, the policy implementation is uneven and has yet to achieve its desired results since some states have adopted the Two Language Formula and others Four Language Formula.

8.5.27. The complex multilingual nature of our states, emotional and political passions attached to the Language, rigidity for specific modification in the Three-Language Formula and disrespect for the spirit of the formula is responsible for its universal non-implementation of the formula.

8.5.28. The blatant policy violation is seen in the enthusiasm for making English the medium of instruction right from the playschool stage. As a result, the mother tongue or first Language is relegated to oblivion even in remote villages. Moreover, the mad rush for English medium instruction with an illusion of higher status mobility and possible economic advancement raises a concern about whether it would result in making not only minority languages endangered but also reducing the regional and official languages into minority languages. This fear is clearly expressed by National Language Policy 2020.

8.5.29. Education being a subject in the Concurrent List, the Centre can only make policy, but its implementation depends on the States. Therefore, States, which have their political priorities, modify the formula for their political connivance making it either the two languages formula or the four languages formula.

8.5.30. Hindi-speaking states have diluted the formula by teaching Sanskrit instead of one of the modern Indian languages, and some Boards of Education teach French, Spanish or German without providing them with Hindi or any regional language.

8.5.31. The formula fails to differentiate between mother tongues and regional languages, prompting minorities whose mother tongue is not a regional language to pursue minority identity. In addition, students whose native Language is not the Official or Regional Language are required to master four languages and three or four scripts.

8.5.32. There are no concrete and stable definitions for a language, dialect or mother tongue in a multilingual country like India. Therefore, government officials or Census Departments determine the status of a language/dialect/mother tongue whose overt or covert motives can decide the fate of a language.

8.5.33. As there were no strict criteria to enlist languages in Eighth Scheduled Languages or Classical languages, it becomes evident that Language per se was not the only reason for recognising a language.

8.5.34. Though the Constitution guarantees protection to the minority languages and makes policies to provide mother tongue education, implementation of these policies varies.

8.5.35 With all good intentions, the Three-Language Formula has strengthened the National-level languages in education planning, either implicitly or explicitly, thus legitimising some minority languages and upholding the nation's rich diversity.

8.5.36. Though the Constitution tries to protect the rights of linguistic minorities, there is a dichotomy between its policy and practice, whereby its practice of Officialisation, Labelling, and Reductionism minimises minority languages.

8.5.37. Some states have treated Language as a political weapon to fight the Union Government rather than treating it as a tool for free access to knowledge and a larger world, especially by opposing Hindi, which has resulted in making millions of students handicapped in competing for jobs which is a clear indication that politicians gained mileage at the expense of the millions of students.

8.5.38. Various language movements or agitations in the country make it obvious the non-existence of a clear Language Policy. Moreover, language movements clarify that the non-recognition of linguistic diversity often leads to disintegration tendencies and not recognition. On the contrary, recognition of linguistic diversity stimulated identity assertion movements.

8.5.39. The grassroot multilingualism in this country militates against the concept of a monolithic language state. Thus, a monolithic language state is a myth. Despite the linguistic rearrangement of States, each State reflects the same multilingualism reflected in the country. All states of India have a significant variety of multilingual populations, as proved by the Census Report of India.

8.5.40. Language not only connects but also successfully separates individuals. It produces both sentiments of identification and separation. Therefore, Language was utilised to further group interests wherever conflicting demands for limited resources exist.

8.5.41. Globalisation has stolen children's childhood in developing countries by acclaiming English as the only global Language, denying their mother tongues, and neglecting their regional languages. Early English education cultivates otherness in our schools

8.5.42. Additionally, it must be emphasised that anti-Hindi and anti-English campaigns have damaged the country's backbone and affected the most vulnerable segments of society. Consequently, while the rich can acquire Hindi and English, the disadvantaged are doomed to mediocrity.

8.5.43. Language movements are social movements that demand a policy or administrative change to recognise a language or script or dialect for redrawing a boundary, against the imposition of a language, addition or deletion of a language in education, administration and assertion of Identity. Language movements also have far-reaching consequences on the country's social, economic, political, psychological, and administrative scenarios.

8.5.44. All linguistic movements are for recognition of their Identity and rights. The majority of the movements had economic, cultural and communal undertones. For example, if the Dravidian movement had economic and cultural undertones, north-eastern movements had ethnic undertones, and Sindhi, Urdu, Hindi and Subha movements had communal undertones.

9. MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH:

9.1. Language can unite and divide. Despite having the ability to be divisive, language has been playing an essential role in the integration of the multilingual, multicultural, diverse Indian nation. Though it may seem that Language was the cause of potential disintegration in the 1960s, through language movements and demands for the linguistic reorganization of states, it was the Language that had been the cause of Integration in India. Sanskrit had united India through its grammar, Persian through its vocabulary and English during the British rule as an administrative language to a certain extent and presently through its power as an occupational and global language. Gandhiji used Hindustani to integrate India during Freedom Movement.

Even today, the English language is playing an integrating role owing to its global nature and the changing work patterns like work-from-home and hybrid mode. In the globalised Information and technology-savvy-internet world, the language that can offer job opportunities survives. It is

undeniable that presently the Language that can provide job opportunities to the optimum is English. Therefore, English's power as a global language and the power to provide job opportunities is accepted even by Government in National Educational Policy.

However, it cannot be denied that due to modern technology, today's occupational patterns, especially online and computer-savvy jobs, are also minimizing the role of Language in business and occupational communication, as symbolic computer language makes languages vulnerable. Nevertheless, the language with technology is uniting the country and the world.

9.2. Linguistic Reorganisation of the states was politically inevitable though newly independent India had to resolve many important and urgent problems like the Kashmir issue, Indo-Pak Border issue, settlement of refugees, economic development of the country etc. The political inevitability of the linguistic reorganisation had its roots in the promises made by Indian National Congress in pre-independent linguistic provinces. The creation of Andhra as a new linguistic state resulting from Potti Sriramulu's fast unto death propelled new demands for other linguistic states. The appointment of the JVP Committee in 1948, when the recommendations of the State Reorganisation Committee were not in favour of establishing the linguistic states and when the recommendations of the JVP were for postponing the reorganisation of the states on a linguistic basis, the States were organised on linguistic basis shows the inevitability of the linguistic reorganization of Indian States. However, the states reorganised after 1956 - Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Sikkim, Telangana, Tripura, and Uttarakhand - were carved out of the existing states gradually due to other political exigencies and not solely due to linguistic demands is an indication of the decline of linguistic lustre in the creation of the states.

9.3. Language, region and caste are interrelated in creating an identity. All language movements were an attempt to officially alert the governments to recognise their identities. Reorganisation of states on the linguistic basis or recognition of languages in the Eighth Schedule or as a State Official or Additional Official Language is nothing but the cry for official recognition of the Identity of a particular linguistic group. The inter-relative power of religion, region and language in creating an identity is visible in the reorganisation of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The relationship between religion, language and ethnicity are evident in the creation of North-eastern

states. The interrelationship between language and ethnicity or race is evident in the Dravidian language movements. The interrelated identity formation happened at a micro or regional level intending to attain political power. As a result, many regional political parties like DMK, Akali Dal, Asom Gana Parishad, Bodoland Peoples Front etc., have emerged. These micro identities were never an attempt for the cessation from the union but a demand for the recognition of their micro-identity within the macro identity called Indian identity. Therefore, in multicultural India, identity politics has brought about the linguistic cohesiveness of states and has strengthened the Federal structure of our country. Language Politics in India has strengthened the Republic's Federal structure and manifested the Constitution's supremacy. Hence, no unit ventured for secession despite umpteen language movements, clashes, bundhs, dharnas, fasts, and protests. On the contrary, once the demand for units was met, they remained more integrated with the Union.

9.4. Language Politics continues through language conflicts, language movements, language policies and educational policies in multicultural India. Many language movements soon after Independence expressed the political potentiality of language. These movements were linguistic in nature externally but political in spirit internally. Many a time, language was just an excuse to score political goals. They were movements to recognise their cultural and linguistic identity in a multicultural environment. The agitation for identity recognition started when there was a threat of annihilation or vulnerability to their existence. At the same time, the movements were an attempt to attain political power that cannot be denied and can be ascertained by the rising of Dravidian and regional political parties.

Today language policies and educational policies are a source of Language Politics though they have not manifested in a big way like language movements and agitations. When, through a language or educational policy, a government tries to impose a dominant language -be it regional or national, be it Kannada or Hindi- the minority languages, to safeguard their identity, resort to politics. For example, when the Karnataka government imposed instructions in Kannada medium as compulsory in schools, the Supreme Court gave the right of deciding the language of instruction to parents of wards. Similarly, the Home Ministry's proposal to make Hindi the medium of instruction in IITs in the Hindi region and the Local language in non-Hindi regions

has been met with protest. Therefore, language and educational policies are the sources of language politics.

9.5. Language politics in India is the creation of Governments, Language Elites and Political Parties. It is a creation of the State. Language as Language is apolitical or politically neutral. However, when Language was used as a tool by language Elites, Political parties and the State in the case of Integration, States Reorganisation and granting of constitutional status to a language, it became muddled in politics. Therefore, Language Politics survives despite National Integration because language Elites and political parties create it.

9.6. Language politics has upheld our country's multilingual and multicultural spirit. It has retained and celebrated the multilingual spirit visible in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The celebration of multilingualism can be seen in our educational policies, particularly National Education Policy 2020.

10. SUGGESTIONS

10.1. Need for a Comprehensive Language Policy:

Though India is a multilingual country with ancient Classical and popular languages with a corpus of world-class literature, India does not have a comprehensive language policy. Whatever Language policies it possesses regarding the Official Languages and Three Languages are derived from the Constitution and Educational Policies of the Government and not from a comprehensive language policy. The existing language policies speak about the Official, Associate-Official, Scheduled, State Official and Classical languages. However, hundreds of languages do not fall under these categories. For instance, existing policies are silent about Non-Scheduled, Minority, Vulnerable and Dying languages. Moreover, existing language policies do not speak about Language Revival, Language Planning. Hence there is a need for a comprehensive all-inclusive language policy for the country.

10.2. Equal Status to all Languages:

Today, the languages of India are divided into National Official languages, State official languages, Associate Official Languages, Scheduled languages, Non-Scheduled languages,

Classical languages etc. Inclusion of a language in some of these categories is considered prestigious, whereas non-inclusion is considered non-recognition of the Identity of that particular language group. Hence Non-recognised language groups under the leadership of Language Elites and political aegis press to recognise their language identity, which results in language conflict. Therefore, there is a need to recognise all languages as equal, ending all types of language politics.

10.3. Scientific Rational Criteria for the Declaration of a Language

Language Politics has often erupted because of the lack of rational scientific criteria. For instance, there are no rules to declare a language as "Scheduled". As a result, in 1948, we had 14 languages on the Scheduled Languages List. Later they became 18, and now we have 22 languages. There are 38 languages in the pipeline waiting for the 'Scheduled' Language Status. Neither are there rules to define Associate State Language. As a result, when Urdu was declared the Associate State Language by Utter Pradesh, Hindi Sammelan filed a Writ Petition in the Court.

Moreover, the power of deciding a language as a State or Associate Language is vested in the State Governments, which use its power for its political momentum leading to uncalled-for political precedents. Therefore, even though the criteria were clear to declare a language as 'Classical', it was violated in the case of Pali by not raising it to that status. Therefore, there is an immediate need for rational scientific criteria for declaring languages to raise them to their deserving statuses.

10.4. Treatment of Languages as Social Capital and not a Social Burden:

Language is a medium and component of culture. Governments should avoid treating them as economic burdens and political nuisances rather than social capital. When languages are considered possessions of rich and unique culture and heritage, they will recognise their Identity and prevent death.

10.5. Cessation of Language as a Political Weapon:

Language is apolitical and must be treated accordingly. Language is a means of communication, and its purpose should be restricted to the same. When Language is used as a pawn to achieve religious, political, casteist, and racial objectives, one who suffers most is Language and those

who speak it. The Language and political Elites have benefitted from language movements, but the common speakers of that Language have suffered. For instance, by '*Angrezi Hataao,'* many youths may lose employment opportunities at the international level. By *'Hindi Hataao',* many may be deprived of jobs at the national level. Therefore, Language should be avoided as a political tool.

10.6. Language Should be Used as a Tool of Economic Development:

Instead of considering many languages as burdens in multilingual countries, they should be treated as economic development tools. If UNESCO can spend money to prevent the death of languages globally and generate employment, every country can. If Israel has revived the Hebrew language, every Government can. The Government must use languages for economic development through its farsighted Language Policies and planning.

11. CONCLUSION:

It is confirmed based on this study that different groups have formed their Identity based on Language. When language is used to define 'who we are, it attains identity-construction power. When this identity is loaded with emotions and ideology, it gets reinforced. Linguistic Identity is recognised by the Constitution, labelling it as either a minority, majority or official Language. The linguistic majority who could garner political clout could form their State on a linguistic basis. However, linguistic minorities were given the Constitutional Rights to establish and administer their own educational and cultural institutions and learn in their mother tongue. The linguistically majoritarian group could meet their demands because of the right to protest tactics and agitations. All these agitations and movements were not for secession but for recognising their micro-Identity within the macro-Identity called 'Indian'. Indians can best define themselves as a multi-source civilisation, drawing its cultural impulses, traditions and practices from various heredities of Dravidians and Aryans, who developed great Dravidian and Sanskrit languages. Moreover, those who came later for conquest or trade brought their languages, and all have mingled and contributed to this civilisation called 'Indians', our macro or Identity.

12. **SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1. PRIMARY SOURCES:

- Census of India 2001. 2012. New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General, India. P.2.
- Deputy Secretary, Government of Mizoram. 2013. *North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act 1971.* Aizawl: The Mizoram Gazette VOL - XLII
- Expert Committee report on Multidisciplinary Programme as per NEP 2020 P.19.
- Grierson G.A. 1927. *Linguistic Survey of India.* Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch. P. 27.
- Indian Independence Act (1947)
- Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act 2019
- Judgment: General Secretary, Linguistic Minorities Vs State of Karnataka, on 25 January 1989.
- JVP Committee Report 1955
- Kothari Commission Report. Volume I: General Problems. First edition, 1966 National Council of Educational Research and Training. New Delhi 16.
- Kothari Commission Report. Volume I: General Problems. First edition, 1966Nationa Council of Educational Research and Training. New Delhi 16.
- Linguistic Survey of India
- Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 2237. Government of India- Ministry of Home Affairs, 29 Nov. 2016
- Ministry Of Law and Justice. 2014. The Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2014. New Delhi: Legislative Department.
- Ministry Of Law and Justice. *The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act. 2019.* New Delhi: Legislative Department.
- Moseley, Christopher. 2010. *The UNESCO-World Atlas of Languages in Danger.* Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- National Education Policy 202. Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
- National Education Policy 2020. Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

- North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act 1971."
- Office of the Registrar General, India. 2008.*Census of India 2001: Language, India states and Union Territories.* New Delhi: Dept. of Publication.
- Official Language Act 1963|,
- Official Languages Act of 1963 and its amendment in 1967,
- Report of the Linguistic province's commission. 1948. New Delhi: The manager, Government of India press.
- Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1955.The Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II—Section 1 Ministry of Law, 1956. State Reorgnisation Act 1956. New Delhi: Ministry of law.
- State of Nagaland Act 1962
- Statistical Report of General Election, 1967 to the Fourth Lok Sabha." Election Commission of India, 1968 General-Election-1967-vol-i-ii.P. 84.
- Supreme Court Judgment, in T.M.A. Pai Foundation & Others vs State of Karnataka & Others on 31 October 2002
- The Andhra State Act, 1953
- The Bihar Reorganisation Act, 2000
- The Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2000
- The Punjab Reorganisation Act 1066
- The Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966
- THE STATE OF MIZORAM ACT, 1986.
- The Uttar Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2000

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

2.1. BOOKS

- Adhikari, Sudeepta. 2014. *Political Geography.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Ananthamurthy, U.R. 2016. *Hindutva or Hind Swaraj*. Noida: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Anderson, Benedict.2015. *Imagined Communities*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Annamalai, E. 2001. *Managing Multilingualism in India: Political and Linguistic Manifestos.* New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

- Ashwin Kumar A. P. 2019. *Nationalism language and Identity in India: Measures of Community.* New Delhi: Routledge India.
- Austin, Granville 2016. *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of the Nation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, Granville. 2016. *Working a Democratic Constitution: A History of the Indian Experience.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Baruah, Sanjib. 2007. *Durable Disorder*: *Understanding Politics of Northeast India*. New Delhi: Oxford India Press.
- Baruah, Sanjib. 2012. *Ethnonationalism in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Basumatary, Rituraj. *Ethnic Movements in North East India.*
- Bauer Laurie and Trudgill Peter. 1998. *Language Myths*. England: Penguin Books.
- Bedi, Jaskiran.2020. *English Language in India.* New York: Routledge.
- Bhargava, Rajeev (Ed.). 2009. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Blackledge, and Pavelenko, A. 2001. Negotiations of Identities in Multilingual Contexts. International Journal of Bilingualism, P.243-259.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 2012. *Language.* New Delhi: Motilal Benarasidass.
- Brass, Paul. R. 2020.*Politics of India since Independence*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Brass, Paul. R.2005. *Language Religion and Politics in North India*. Lincoln: iUniverse Inc.
- Bryson, Bill. 1990. *Mother Tongue: The Story of the English Language.* Great Britain: Penguin Random House U K.
- Chakrabarty, Bidyut. 2009. *Indian Politics and Society Since Independence.* New York: Routledge.
- Chandra, Bipin, Mukherjee Mridula and Mukherjee, Aditya 2008: *India Since Independence:* Penguin Books Private Limited, India.
- Chandra, Bipin, Mukherjee Mridula, Mukherjee Aditya, Mahajan Sucheta and Panikkar K.N.1989. *India's Struggle for Independence*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. *The Architecture of Language.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Comerie, Bernard. 1990. *The World's Major Languages. New York*: Oxford University Press.
- Comuri, Gitika. 2010. *Indian Identity Narratives and the Politics of Security*. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.
- Crystal, David. 2012. *Language Death*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Pattanayak, Debi Prassanna. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity: The Writings of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak.* Vol.1. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Daniel, Nettle and Suzanne, Romaine.2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of worlds' Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Das Satya Brata and Choudhury Soumyabrata. 2015. *The Weight of Violence*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Das, P. G. 2006. *Modern Political theory.* Kolkatta: NCBA. P.
- Dash, Santhosh. 2009. *English Education and the Question of Nationalism*. Delhi: Akar Books.
- Debi, Prasanna Pattanayak. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Dirks B Nicholas. 2014. *Castes of Mind.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Doninger, Wendy. 2013. *On Hinduism*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company. P. 564.
- Elst, Koenraad. 2001. *Decolonising the Hindu Mind: Ideological Development of Hindu Revivalism.* New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Fadia, B.L. and Fadia Kuldeep. 2017. *Indian Government and Politics*. Agra: Sahitya Bhawan.
- Faruqui, Ather. 2014. Redifining Urdu Politica in India. New Delhi: Oxford India press.
- Fromkin, Victoria, Rodman, Robert, Hyams, Nina.2004: Chennai: Tomson, Wadsworth.
- Golwalkar, M. S. 1966. *Bunch of thoughts.* Bangalore: Sahitya Sindhu Prakashan.
- Gudykunst, William B. 1988. *Language and Ethnic Identity. Philadelphia*: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2012. *Makers of Modern India -1948.* Gurgaon: Penguin Random House India.
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2017. *India after Gandhi*. New Delhi: Picador India.

- Guha, Ramachandra. 2018. *Gandhi the Years that Changed the World 1914-1948.* Gurgaon: Penguin Random House India.
- Hall, R.A. 1968. *An Essay on Language.* New York: Chilton Books.
- Haralambos M., Heald, R.M. 2016.*Sociology, Themes and Perspectives*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hudson, R. A., 2017. *Sociolinguistics*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. 2nd Ed.
- Hunter, J Rodney. 2007. *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counselling*, Theological Publications of India.
- Ishtiaq, M., 1999. *Language Shifts among the Scheduled Tribes in India.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas Publishers.
- Jha, Mithilesh Kumar. 2018. *Language Politics and the Public Sphere in North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Joseph, Tony.2018. *Early Indians.* New Delhi: Juggernaut Books.
- Jyotirindira, Dasgupta.1970. *Language Conflict and National Development Group Politics and National Language Policy in India*. California: Berkeley University of California Press.
- Kachru, Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna, Sridhar. S.N. 2008. *Language in South Asia.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kapoor, S. K. 2014. *Human Rights under International Law.* Allahabad: Central Law Agency.
- Kavitha, K. Volume: 3. Issue: 4. April 2014. *Dalit Literature in India*, in Indian Journal of Research.
- King, D Robert. 1998. *Nehru and Language Politics in India*. *New Delhi: Oxford University Press.*
- Kothari, Rita. 2018. *A Multilingual Nation: Translation and Language Dynamic in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kroeber. A. L 1972. *Anthropology*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
- Kudaisya, Gyanesh. 2017. *A republic in the Making: India in the 1950s*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kudaisya, Gyanesh. 2017. *India in the 1950s.* Oxford University Press.

- Kumar, Ashwin. A. P.2020.*Nationalism, Language, and Identity in India*. New York: Routledge.
- Louise Tillin. 2014. *Remapping India: The New States and Their Political Origins*. New Delhi: Oxford India Press.
- Lyovin, V. Anatole. 1997. *An Introduction to the Languages of the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malhotra, Rajiv. 2013. *Being Different.* Noida: HarperCollins Publishers India.
- Malhotra, Rajiv. 2016.*The Battle for Sanskrit*. Noida: HarperCollins Publishers India.
- McArthur, Tom. (ed.) 2005. *Oxford Concise Companion to the English Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, Lisa. 2014. *Language Emotion and Politics in South India*. Ranikher: Permanent Black.
- Moras, Paul. 2002. *Konkani Challvoll*. Mangalore: Konkani Institute, St. Aloysius College.
- Mukherjee, Jhumpa. 2014.*Conflict Resolution in Multicultural Countries.* New Delhi: Sage
- Mukul, Akshaya. 2017. *Gita Press and the Making of Hindu India.* Noida: Harper Collins Publishers India.
- Mungekar, Bhalachandra. 2017. *The Essential of Ambedkar.* New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Nayak, Pramod K. (2008) *Postcolonial Literature: An Introduction*. Noida: Dorling Kindersley.
- Niraja Gopal and Jayapal, Oxford companion to politics in India
- Ostler, Nicholas. 2006. *Empires the World: A Language History of the World*. Great Britain: Harper Perennial.
- Panday J. N. 2015. Constitutional Law of India. Allahabad: Central Law Agency.
- Pattanayak, Debi Prassanna. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity: The Writings of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak.* Vol.1. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Pattanayak, Debi Prassanna. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity: The writings of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, Vol. II.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.

- Pattanayak, Supriya, et al. 2016. *Multilingualism and Multiculturalism: Perceptions, Practices, and Policy.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Phalaksha. 2018. *Karnataka Samskrutika Itihasa*, Shashi Prakashana.
- Pinker, Steven. 2008.*The Stuff of Thought*. London: Penguin Books. P.vi.
- Pinker, Steven. 2015. *The Language Instinct*. U.K.: Penguin Random House.
- Preece, Jennifer Jackson. 2015. *Minority Rights.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Ramana, Pulli, Ventata et. All. 2016.*Telangana Movement- State Formation.* Hyderabad: Telugu Academy Hyderabad.
- Rickerson, E.M., Hilton, Barry.2012. *The Five-Minute Linguist.* Bristol, U.K.: Equinox Publishing Ltd.
- Rodrigues, Valerian. 2004. *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sapir, E. 1921. *Language.* New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Sarangi, Asha (ed.) 2010. *Language and Politics in India: Themes in Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sarangi, Asha. Pai, Sudha. 2019. *Interrogating Reorganisation of states.* New Delhi: Routledge India.
- Shapiro, Michael C. and Schiffman, Harold F. 1981.*Language and Society in South Asia.* Delhi: Motilal
- Sheldon, Pollock (ed). 2003. *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, Irom Gambhir. 2010. *Applied Sociolinguistics*: Akansha Publishing House.
- Singh, Yogendra. *Redefining Urdu politics.*
- Souza, de Marc. 1986. *Goa's Official Language.*
- Sridhar, M, Mishra, Sunita. 2017. *Language policy and education in India.* New York: Routledge.
- Tagore, Rabindranath (2004) *Rabindranath Tagore Selected Essays.* New Delhi: Rupa Publications Private Ltd.
- Tejani, Shabnum. 2016. *Indian Secularism.* New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Thapar, Romila. 2014. *The Past as Present: Forging Contemporary Identities Through History.* New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.

- Thapar, Romila; Noorani, A.G. and Menon, Sadanand. 2016. *On Nationalism.* New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2000. *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. London: Books.
- Vajpeyi, Ashok. 2017. *India Dissents: 3,000 Years of Difference, Doubt and Argument*. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger Publishing Pvt. Ltd.
- Watson, Peter. 2005. *Ideas, A History of Thoughts and Invention, from Fire to Freud*. Great Britain: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Wyatt Andrew, Zavos John. 2003. *Decentering the Indian Nation*. England: FRANK KASS Company Limited.

2.2. ARTICLES

- Bose, Nirmal. 1991. "National Integration", *Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol 15. No
- Desai A R. 1963. National Integration and Religion, *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol12. No 1.
- Doipude, Santhosh. 2020. "Critical Issues and Challenges to Nationalism for Indian National Integration", *Tathapi, UGC Care Journal, Vol 19.* Issue-169.
- Frishman Joshua A. (2001) 'The New Linguistic Order'. Digital Issue 3
- Grace, Yue Oi. The importance of English in primary school education in China: perceptions of students.
- Jayaram, N. 2000. *The Dynamics of Language in Indian Diaspora: The Case of Bhojpuri/Hindi in Trinidad in Sociological Bulletin.* Volume 49, Number 1, March.
- Llamzon, A Theodoro. *1972.* National Integration and National Language, *Philippine Sociological Review* Vol. 20. No 4.
- Sachehidananda. 1970-71. Sociology of National Integration, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute*, Vol 31/32. No1/2
- Shakir, Moin. 1982. On National Integration, *Social Scientist,* Vol 10. No 4.
- Shastri, Sandeep. 1990 "Indian Federalism and national Integration – A Critique", *Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol 51. No 2.
- Singh, Ranbir and Arya Anupama. 2006. Nehru's Strategy of National Integration, *Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol 67. No 4.

- Tiwari, K Shailendra. 2010. Minorities and constitution: Problem of National Integration, *Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol 71. No 2.

- Tiwari, K Shailendra. 2010. Minorities and constitution: Problem of National Integration, *Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol 71. No 2.

- Zolberg R Aristide. 1967. Patterns of National Integration, *The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol* 5. No 4.

2.3. NEWSPAPERS

- Deccan Herald,
- Economic Times,
- New Indian Express
- The Hindu.
- Udayavani

2.4. E-RESOURCES:

- economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/
- http://archives.miloush.net/michkap/archive/2010/05/12/10011402.html
- http://devnagrisoft.com/softwares.html
- http://gazetteer.kar.nic.in/gazetteer/pdf/1987-40/Belgaum_1987_Chapter3_People.pdf
- http://indianexpress.com/article/research/international-mother-language-day-2018-ganesh-devy-indian-languages-5072487/
- http://southasia.ucla.edu/history-politics/colonial-epistemologies/sir-george-grierson/http://visitairan.com/term/
- http://www.bhasharesearch.org/peoples-linguistic-survey-of-the-india.html
- http://www.millenniumpost.in/big-stories/15-million-indians-moved-to-foreign-countries-for-jobs-in-2-years-centre-472536
- http://www.ncert.nic.in/
- http://www.ncert.nic.in/ Accessed on 2020.
- https://assets.cambridge.org/97805212/97752/excerpt/9780521297752_excerpt.pdf

- https://assets.cambridge.org/97805212/97752/excerpt/9780521297752_excerpt.pdf

- https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/61640901.pdf
- https://doi.org.
- https://doi.org. 1958. *Religion and Language as Forces Affecting unity in Asia*.1958
- https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED127806.pdf#
- https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED127806.pdf#
- https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-how-is-a-language-declared-classical-in-india-what-benefits-it-enjoys-6216415/
- https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-how-is-a-language-declared-classical-in-india-what-benefits-it-enjoys-6216415/
- https://practiceconnect.azimpremjiuniversity.edu.in/safeguarding-tribal-languages/
- https://practiceconnect.azimpremjiuniversity.edu.in/safeguarding-tribal-languages/
- https://rsdebate.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/37399/2/IQ_208_08082006_U1521_p57p58.pdf
- https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/jaipur/second-highest-number-of-hindi-speakers-in-raj/articleshow/71131449.cms
- https://web.archive.org/web/20140718185108/http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/StatisticalReports/LS_1967/Vol_I_LS_67.pdf
- https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/no-fixed-criteria-for-language-to-be-considered-for-inclusion-in-eighth-schedule-minister20210811232806/
- https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ossete
- https://www.circassianworld.com/circassians/language/1533-language-planning-hewitt48
- https://www.deccanherald.com/content/632160/8th-schedule-23-languages-counting.html
- https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/governance/seven-decades-after-independence-many-tribal-languages-in-india-face-extinction-threat-73071
- https://www.freepressjournal.in/analysis/pseudo-nationalistic-majorism-destroys-language-democracy
- https://www.gutenberg.org/files/54160/54160-h/54160-h.htm
- https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/criminal-tribes-to-be-included-in-socio-economic-census-103597-2012-05-28
- https://www.inverse.com/article/61876-language-database-emotional-words

- https://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/indian-states-that-have-hindi-as-an-official-language-1302955055-1
- https://www.jatinverma.org/how-a-language-is-declared-classical-in-india
- https://www.legalserviceindia.com/legal/article-720-who-are-Akash.Who-are-Minorities?
- https://www.legalserviceindia.com/legal/article-720-who-are-minorities.html
- https://www.mha.gov.in/MHA1/Par2017/pdfs/par2015-pdfs/ls-081215/1600.pdf
- https://www.mha.gov.in/MHA1/Par2017/pdfs/par2016-pdfs/ls-291116/2237.pdfEven
- https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/EighthSchedule_19052017.pdf
- https://www.morebooks.de/store/gb/book/kam-sui-languages/isbn/978-613-6-76242-5
- https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/oxford-dictionary-gets-26-india-english-words-like-aadhaar-dabba-hartal-shaadi-2169190
- https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2011/sep/07/38-languages-in-line-to-attain-official-status-288574.html
- https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2011/sep/07/38-languages-in-line-to-attain-official-status-288574.html
- https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/more-than-19500-mother-tongues-spoken-in-india/1341356
- https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326895570_Khortha_a_Dying_Language_and_Urgency_to_Retain_its_Pure_Variety
- https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326895570_Khortha_a_Dying_Language_and_Urgency_to_Retain_its_Pure_Variety
- https://www.thehindu.com/society/this-indian-language-can-be-written-by-only-100-people/article23384526.ece
- https://www.utkaltoday.com/three-language-formula-india/
- https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-7-classical-languages-ofindia.html
- https://www.worldcat.org/title/linguistic-survey-of-india/oclc/
- www.academia.edu/1539836/Language_Power_Identity.
- www.indiacode.nic.in/handle/123456789/1534?sam_handle=123456789/.
- www.j- mansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429.
- www.Jestor.org.stable/23892183
- www.meity.gov.in/content/official-language-act. Accessed 19 Oct. 2022. P. 1.

- www.researchgate.net/publication/221888415_
- www.simplypsychology.org/social-identity-theory.html. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.
- www.thehindu.com/news/national/Requests-to-include-38-languages-in-
  www.unesco.org/en/articles/why-motherlangua

13. END NOTES

1. Pattanayak, Debi Prassanna. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity: The writings of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, Vol. I.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan. P. 390.

2. Pinker, Steven. 2015. *The Language Instinct*. U.K.: Penguin Random House. P.13.

3. McArthur, Tom. (ed.) 2005. *Oxford Concise Companion to the English Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 334.

4. Sapir, E. 1921. *Language.* New York: Harcourt Brace. P. 8.

5. Hall, R.A. 1968. *An Essay on Language.* New York: Chilton Books. P. 158.

6. Pinker, Steven. 2015. *The language instinct*. U.K.: Penguin Random House. P. 14.

7. Ibid. P. 14.

8. Sinha, Sonali. "Three Language Formula Under National Education Policy (NEP) 2020." www.lawyered.in/legal-disrupt/articles/three-language-policy-under-national-education-policy-2020. Accessed 19 Sept. 2022.

9. Jain, Bharati. "Home Ministry Issues Circular Promoting Use of Hindi on Social Media India News - Times of India." The Times of India, timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/home-ministry-issues-circular-promoting-use-of-Hindi-on-social-media/articleshow/36838165.cms. Accessed 19 Sept. 2022.

10. Swami, Rohini. "Bengaluru: Pro-Kannada Group Blacken Hindi Sign Boards at Metro Stations-IndiaNews."IndiaToday,20July2017, www.indiatoday.in/india/story/bengaluru-Kannada-namma-metro-Hindi-sign-boards-protest-1025274-2017-07-20.

11. Sarangi, Asha (ed.) 2010. *Language and Politics in India: Themes in Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 2.

12. Ibid. P. 2.

13. Ibid. P. 2.

14. Austin, Granville. 2016. *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of the Nation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. P. 383.

15. Pattanayak, Debi Prassanna. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity: The writings of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, Vol. I.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan. P. 473.

16. Ashwin Kumar A. P. 2019. *Nationalism language and Identity in India: Measures of Community.* New Delhi: Routledge India.P.13-14.

17. Faruqui, Ather. 2014. *Redefining Urdu Politics in India.* New Delhi: Oxford India press. P.43.

18. Jha. Mithilesh, Kumar. 2018. *Language Politics and Public Sphere in North India*. New Delhi. Oxford University Press. P. 210.

19. Ibid. P. 210.

20. Pat. *Report of the State Reorganisation Commission 1955*. 23 Feb. 1954, www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/State%20Reorganisation%20Commisison%20Report%20of%201955_270614.pdf. Accessed 4 Oct. 2022. P. 15-16.

21. King, Robert. *Nehru and Language Politics in Indi*a. New Delhi, India, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. xvi.

22. Pattanayak, Debi Prassanna. 2014. *Language and Cultural Diversity: The writings of Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, Vol. I.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan. P. 7.

23. Brass, Paul. R.2005. *Language Religion and Politics in North India*. Lincoln: iUniverse Inc. P. 3.

24. Grant, Cynthia, and Azadeh Osanloo. "ERIC - EJ1058505 - Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for Your 'House', Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research, 2014." ERIC - EJ1058505 - Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for Your "House", Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research, 2014, eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1058505. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022. PP.12-26.

25. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012.

www.j- mansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. PP.1114-1131.

26. Kirk, Gwyn, and Margo Okazawa-Rey. *Women's Lives: Multicultural Perspectives.* Mayfield Publishing Company, 2003, P. 49.

27. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012.

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P. 1115.

28. Stets, Jan E., and Peter J. Burke. "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2000, pp. 224–37. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/2695870. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

29. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012.

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P. 1115.

30. Ibid. P. 1116.

31. Burke, Peter J. "The Self: Measurement Requirements from an Interactionist Perspective." *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 1, 1980, pp. 18–29. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/3033745. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

32. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012.

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P1117.

33. Stets, Jan E., and Peter J. Burke. "A sociological approach to self and identity." *Handbook of Self and Identity* 128152 (2003): Pp. 23-50.

34. Petkus Jr, E. D. "The creative identity: Creative behaviour from the symbolic interactionist perspective." *The Journal of Creative Behavior* 30.3 (1996): Pp.188-196.

35. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012.

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P.1120.

36. Thoits, Peggy A. "Multiple Identities: Examining Gender and Marital Status Differences in Distress." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51, no. 2, 1986, pp. 259–72. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/2095520. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

37. Burke, Peter J., and Alicia D. Cast. "Stability and change in the gender identities of newly married couples." *Social psychology quarterly* (1997): Pp. 277-290.

38. Tsushima, Teresa, and Peter J. Burke. "Levels, agency, and control in the parent identity." *Social Psychology Quarterly* (1999): Pp. 173-189.

39. Kiecolt, K. Jill. "Stress and the decision to change oneself: A theoretical model." *Social Psychology Quarterly* (1994): Pp. 49-63.

40. Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2003). A sociological approach to self and identity. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (Pp. 128–152). The Guilford Press.

41. D, Abrams, and Hogg M.A. "Social Identity, Self as Structure and Self as Process - Kent Academic Repository." Social Identity, Self as Structure and Self as Process - Kent Academic Repository, 7 Jan. 2014, kar.kent.ac.uk/37744.

42. Simon, B, Pantaleo, G. and Mummendey, A. (1995). "Unique Individual or Interchangeable Group Member? The Accentuation of Intragroup Differences Versus Similarities as an Indicator of the Individual Self Versus the Collective Self." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 69: Pp.106-19.

43. Hogg, M. A. and Hardie, E. A. (1992). "Prototypicality, Conformity and Depersonalized Attraction: A Self-Categorisation Analysis of Group cohesiveness." British Journal of Social Psychology 31: Pp. 41-56.

44. Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & McGarty, C. (1994). Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *20*(5), Pp. 454–463. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167294205002

45. Mcleod, Saul, and [Saul Mcleod]. "Social Identity Theory | Definition, History, Examples, and Facts." Social Identity Theory | Definition, History, Examples, & Facts, www.simplypsychology.org/social-identity-theory.html. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

46. A. Haslam, Alexander, et al. "Virtual Special Issue Editorial† Identity, Influence, and Change: Rediscovering John Turner's Vision for Social Psychology." https://irejournals.com/?gclid=CjwKCAjwhNWZBhB_EiwAPzlhNmxs_axjHqVOQqgywIMpbJFkmNUVK646YeKdRfApnSWEgVdMbNqbBhoCqAcQAvD_BwE, 12Jan.2018,

www.researchgate.net/publication/221888415_Identity_influence_and_change_Rediscovering_John_Turner's_vision_for_social_psychology/link/5a58252a45851529a2ee6001/download.

47. Merga, Werd, and Bert Klandermans. "Group Identification and Political Protest: Farmer's Protest in the Netherlands." *European Journal of Psychology*, vol. 29, 1999, pp. 1073–95, onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/%28SICI%291099-0992%28199912%2929%3A8%3C1073%3A%3AAID-EJSP986%3E3.0.CO%3B2-K.

48. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012,

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P. 1126.

49. Hewitt, J. P. (1989). *Dilemmas of the American Self*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. P. 93.

50. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012,

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P. 1126.

51. Hewitt, J. P. (1989). *Dilemmas of the American Self*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. P. 93.

52. Hitlin, S. (2003). Values as the Core Personal Identity: Drawing Links between Two Theories of Self. Social Psychology Quarterly, 66, Pp. 118-137.

53. Cinoğlu, Hüseyin, and Yusuf Arıkan. "Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences." Self, Identity and Identity Formation: From the Perspectives of Three Major Theories | Journal of Human Sciences, 18 Sept. 2012.

www.j-umansciences.com/ojs/index.php/ijhs/article/view/2429. P. 1128.

54. Shilpa. "Identity Politics in India- Its Various Dimensions." International Journal of Research in Engineering, I.T. Social Sciences, vol. 11, no. 02, Feb. 2021, pp. 36–39, indusedu.org/pdfs/IJREISS/IJREISS_3762_31310.pdf.

55. Johari. Contemporary Political Theory - New Dimension, Basic Concepts and Major Trends. Third, New Delhi, India, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 2015, p. 751.

56. Johari. Contemporary Political Theory - New Dimension, Basic Concepts and Major Trends. Third, New Delhi, India, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 2015, p. 752.

57. Johari. Contemporary Political Theory - New Dimension, Basic Concepts and Major Trends. Third, New Delhi, India, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 2015, p. 753.

58. Kin Tong, Ho, and Lin Hong Cheung. "Cultural Identity and Language: A Proposed Framework for Cultural Globalisation and Glocalisation." · https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01434632.2010.527344, Feb. 2011. P.55.

59. Bernsand, Niklas. "Surzhyk and National Identity in Ukrainian Nationalist Language Ideology." *Forum*, vol. 2001, P. 38, www.academia.edu/1973543/Surzhyk_and_National_Identity_in_Ukrainian_Nationalist_Language_Ideology.

60. Shohamy, Elana, and Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen. "Language Ideology and Education. The Politics of Textbooks in Language Education." Academia, London and Newyork, Routledge, pp. 111–25, www.academia.edu/27876989/Language_Ideology_and_Education_The_politics_of_textbooks_in_language_education.

61. Wodak, Ruth. Language Teaching, Surveys and Studies. Cambridge UP, 2011, P. 229, www.academia.edu/1539836/Language_Power_Identity.

62. Kirk, Gwyn, and Margo Okazawa-Rey. "Women's Lives." Multicultural Perspectives, McGraw-Hill Humanities, Social Sciences and World Languages, 2000, P. 58, doi:10.1604/9780767416436.

63. Kumar, Ashwin. *Nationalism, Language, and Identity in India- Measures of Community.* New Delhi: Routledge India Original, 2020, Pp. 134–48.

64. Commuri, Gitika. *Indian Identity Narratives and the Politics of Security*. New Delhi, India: Sage Publications India Private Limited, 2010. Pp.1-34.